MIDDLE EAST: POST MORTEMS OR PEACE BY LILLIE SHULTZ

THE Nation

APRIL 10, 1954

the INFORMER

by Frank Donner

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Around the U.S.A.

Copper Workers Stick to Their Union

Great Falls, Montana

AN ELECTION held in the last week of March in Butte and Anaconda, Montana, will make next fall's campaign for Congressional seats and state offices seem anti-climactic to voters of the two cities. The issue before the members of the Anaconda and Butte locals of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (independent) was whether they should retain the International as their bargaining agent or shift allegiance to the United Steel Workers of America (C. I. O.). Mine-Mill won by 4,099 votes to 2,185.

This was the second setback for the Steel Workers in their effort to recapture for the C. I. O. the more than 10,000 members lost when Mine-Mill was expelled in 1950 on the ground that its officers were Communist-controlled. In May, 1951, the Great Falls local of Mine-Mill had voted, 734 to 287, against leaving the independent union and affiliating with the Steel Workers.

The events that led the N. L. R. B. to call the election in Butte and Anaconda began late last December when Joe Mason, president of the Butte local, led a group of about 2,000 miners out of a union meeting, saying his group was dissatisfied with the way union affairs were being administered by officers of the International at its Denver headquarters. The hostility of the seceders appeared to center on Maurice Travis, secretary-treasurer of Mine-Mill.

Although Butte was incorporated only seventy-five years ago, few American cities have a longer or more militant labor history. The original Butte Miners' Union grew out of the Butte Workingmen's Union, organized June 13, 1878, when the town had a population of less than 3,000. Aaron C. Witter, who led in organizing the Butte workers, served later as a member of the constitutional convention held in 1889 when Montana was preparing for statehood. As early as 1890 the Butte Miners' Union demanded the eight-hour day. By then it had a membership of 5,000.

IN THE recent election campaign the Steel Workers charged that the present leadership of Mine-Mill was Communist-controlled. Yet national C. I. O. campaign leaflets have accused the Mine-Mill leaders of being too easy in negotiations with the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. After looking at the C. I. O. literature, a member of the Great Falls local of Mine-Mill, which remained neutral in the recent controversy, said: "It looks like the C. I. O. is trying to work both sides of the street." Throughout the campaign Mine-Mill leaders in Denver and Butte charged the "Communist smear" was designed to cover up union raiding.

A few days after President Joe Mason led his 2,000 followers out of the Butte Miners' Union, from 500 to 600 adherents of Mine-Mill took possession of the union hall and installed newly elected temporary officers in defiance of the Mason faction. On March 13, the Butte Miners' Union filed a $350,000 damage suit in District Court against the national C. I. O., William and Joe Mason, and other alleged leaders of the insurgents. A move was also started by Mine-Mill members to set up a local labor relations board. This was dropped when United States District Judge W. S. Murray, Senator Murray's son, issued an injunction against such a proceeding, on the ground that the National Labor Relations Board had already entered the controversy. Incidentally, Senator Murray maintained a completely neutral attitude during the battle of the unions.

After the results of the N. L. R. B. election were announced, Ernest Salvas, a member of Mine-Mill's executive board, said: "The election now is over. The miners of Butte and the smeltermen of Anaconda have acted, by their votes, to reaffirm their support for the union which has spoken for non-ferrous metal workers in the United States and Canada for sixty-one years—the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. We feel confident that those miners or smeltermen who voted either for the C. I. O. or for no union at all [only 66 of the 7,951 eligibles voted 'neither'] will now close ranks with the rest of their brothers in the Butte mines and the Anaconda smelter. We know these workers are honest and will be quick to understand that the majority has spoken in the American way."

In adding that "a big job remains to be done" Salvas was stating the obvious. After the 1914 "revolt" in the Butte Miners' Union, underground workers in the nation's largest mining center were without unified leadership for nearly twenty years, or until the union was reorganized in 1933. The reorganization was followed a year later by a 135-day strike which won the miners a 50-cents-a-day pay boost—from $4.25 to $4.75. The 1934 strike was marked by violence, but at its end relations between "the company" and the miners gradually improved, and they have remained fairly harmonious for a good many years.

Not only the copper company's labor policy but the population of Butte has changed in the last forty years. In 1914 a large percentage if not a majority of the miners were unmarried. Many of them were first-generation immigrants from Europe and the British Isles—from Finland, Yugoslavia, Ireland, Cornwall, and Wales. Today most of Butte's miners are family men, native-born Americans. A growing number are Mexican Americans from Arizona and New Mexico. Some have come from the mines of Oklahoma and Missouri, attracted to Butte by the prospect of higher wages and better living conditions.

One part of the "big job" which Ernest Salvas said Mine-Mill has before it will be to work for an initiative measure that Montana labor unions propose to put before the voters next fall. This measure would broaden the workmen's compensation act to cover silicosis and other occupational diseases.

A. L. CLARK

[*A. L. Clark is a reporter for the Great Falls* Tribune.]

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THE Nation

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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Those Hasty "Previews"

In resubmitting, in somewhat enlarged form, the plan for a general European security treaty which has already been turned down at Berlin, the Soviet Union chose its time shrewdly. Anxiety over the H-bomb and the Dulles speech assured the plan a friendlier reception on Europe's street corners, if not in its chancelleries, than it otherwise might have had. The Russians deliberately stressed the need for an end to the cold war, while not disguising their immediate targets—the E. D. C. and the rearmament of Germany.

The Soviet move received what is rapidly becoming a customary propaganda assist from an inept State Department, which hurried to reject the proposal—unofficially—before most people had a chance to read it. Such precipitancy always irritates our allies, and this time, according to press reports from London and Paris, was no exception. Whatever the Western Big Three's official answer may prove to be, it would have been a more impressive answer without the State Department's hastily concocted "preview."

Revolution Against War

What with all the excitement about the latest H-bomb explosion, with its "stupendous" and "unbelievable" power and its astonishing "yield"—which included an unexpected radio-active rainfall in Massachusetts—we seem to have lost sight of some of the deeper meanings of Admiral Strauss's disclosures. In a B.B.C. broadcast some weeks ago, Sir John Slessor, marshal of the Royal Air Force, pointed out that air power and the new bombs have "completely transformed the whole complexion and dimension of the problem of peace and war . . . total war as we have known it in the past forty years is a thing of the past." No nation ever started a war, he emphasized, unless there was some reason to think it could win. Today, for the first time in history, "there is not the remotest chance of anyone winning a war," that is, in the sense that victory might result in conditions more favorable to the victor than could have been brought about without war. Moreover, the old cliché that every weapon of offense sooner or later finds its defensive antidote no longer applies. In Sir John's view, the chances of developing an effective defense against modern air attacks are not good. Even if the technical problems could be solved, the cost would be incredibly high. This would be just as true for the Russians, with their vast areas, as it would for us. Again—a consideration not mentioned by him—both parties to the current struggle for power now know enough to assess the enormity of the risk which each would run if war broke out. This has seldom been true in the past.

Thus Sir John concludes that one of the great revolutions of history has occurred—namely, that the era of total war is over. In support, he quotes from Sir Winston Churchill's statement on atomic weapons in the House of Commons on November 3 last year:

> I have sometimes the odd thought that the annihilating character of these agencies may bring an utterly unforeseeable security to mankind. . . . It may be that when the advance of destructive weapons enables everyone to kill everybody else, no one will want to kill anybody at all. . . . .

Beyond Power Politics

What this view ignores is the overwhelmingly important fact that the peace of the world—indeed, the very existence of modern urban industrial society—rests on the precarious assumption of the continued sanity and good sense of a dozen or so officials in the governments of two great powers of which it would be hard to say which fears the other most. And the fears of the officials reflect popular fears.

The ultimate need of course is for political thinking as bold and unconventional as the scientific thinking which made the new weapons possible. But the immediate need is to buy time for world opinion to make itself felt. In America especially the great need of the hour is for the people to make known, in unmistakable terms, their will to peace. For it so happens that the only well-organized, well-financed national faction in the country today is the extreme right wing of the Republican Party. This element knows what it wants and knows how to get it—by exploiting popular fears. Those who favor peace, negotiation, and a cessation of the cold war cannot afford to be less determined.

The right-wing elements have brought the Administration under a murderous cross-fire which has endangered its will as well as its ability to negotiate. We simply

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cannot afford to permit Mr. Dulles to return empty-handed from Geneva. Senator McCarthy is only one of numerous right-wing demagogues who boast of their ability to end deadlocks. We cannot stand around, as John Jay Chapman once said, "like blighted things, like ghosts about Acheron, waiting for someone or something to determine their destiny for them." The future will be ghostly indeed if we continue to let the McCarthys bully our allies, strong-arm our officials, and intimidate us—the electorate, the people.

How NOT to Choose Counsel

The selection of Samuel P. Sears of Boston as counsel to the Senate inquiry into Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's dispute with the army has aspects both farcical and scandalous. That the committee, which had been at such pains to stress the care with which counsel was being selected, should have accepted a direct application for the job without exhaustively checking the qualifications of the applicant, is truly farcical. Mr. Sears is fairly well known in Boston as a specialist in the trial of negligence cases. There is even a rumor that he is known as far west as Springfield. It is quite clear that no real investigation was made of this comparative unknown. A phone call to any Boston newspaper would have revealed that Mr. Sears had made pro-McCarthy statements and that he was a McCarthy supporter in 1952. But apparently all that Senator Mundt cared to know about him was that he is a pipe-smoker and that he has the nation's, and doubtless the world's, finest collections of gold toothpicks. It is reasonable to assume, however, that Senator Mundt did satisfy himself on the one crucial point about Mr. Sears—that he would be acceptable to McCarthy.

The real issue, however, relates not to Mr. Sears but to the extraordinary behavior of the committee, more particularly of the three "blind" Democrats. Nothing much could reasonably be expected of Senators Mundt, Dirksen, and Potter. Now their colleagues must be placed in the same category. One can only conclude that these men take their responsibilities too lightly, that they regard the investigation as being of slight importance or, a final alternative, that they are incredibly naive about McCarthy and his methods. If McCarthy had to define an ideal-type counsel, from his point of view, he would want a sympathizer who happened to live in Boston and who, in addition, was both a Protestant and a graduate of the Harvard Law School. Indeed Mr. Sears meets the Senator's specifications so completely that one can only suspect that McCarthy may have prompted him to "volunteer" for the assignment. In any case, the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations cannot be trusted to conduct this inquiry; the investigation should be promptly transferred to the Senate Armed Services Committee where it properly belongs.

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Post Mortems or Peace . . *Lillie Shultz*

United Nations, April 2

PEACE may soon be an academic affair in the Middle East—unless the big powers stop jockeying for position in the cold war and use their influence to bring about direct talks for a settlement between the Arab states and Israel.

The West's failure to seek such a settlement is responsible for the chain of violence and retaliation at Kibya, Scorpion Pass, and Nahalin—and has invited Russian assistance in compounding chaos. To deal with the Egyptian search and seizure of ships carrying cargo bound for Israel, the Syrian objections to a canal at B'not Ja'acov, and the Jordan-Israel border incidents as if they were isolated affairs, susceptible to individual solution without reference to stability in the whole area, is to play the ostrich. All reflect the anarchy created by the failure to write finis to the Palestine war, coupled with Western courtship of the Arab states for the sake of bases, and now further complicated by the new role of Russia as the "most favored" suitor of the Arab states.

The Russian veto on March 29 of a resolution which mildly reminded Egypt to comply with a 1951 Security Council resolution calling for the end of the Egyptian blockade at Suez was only the climactic point of six months of barren discussions of Middle East tensions. The Russians did not create the stultification. They have ably exploited it to further their own interests.

Since last October the Security Council has been dealing with problems arising from Arab-Israel friction. Not a single constructive proposal dealing with the over-all situation has come out of these discussions. In the meantime the situation has drastically deteriorated. Border incidents, a constant factor for the last five years, have flared into major violence. Jordanian incursions into Israeli territory have led to armed retaliation by Israel. The chain of violence produced the massacre of eleven Israeli bus passengers at Scorpion Pass and a return engagement in the Jordanian village of Nahalin, in which nine Arabs were killed and fourteen wounded.

Is the answer of the world's highest peace authority to continue to be a juggling act to apportion blame to one side or the other? Or, as Mr. Eden proposed, to assign more observers, more jeeps, more dogs to track down violators so that the truce commissions can become more efficient messengers of the post mortems? Or is the answer to be a forthright attempt to utilize the authority of the Security Council to compel direct negotiations for peace between the Arab states and Israel?

Last Monday Mr. Vishinsky, in vetoing the New Zealand resolution on Egypt's blockade, jibed at the Security Council: "It would be far more desirable for the Security Council to appeal to both parties to take steps to settle their differences on this question by means of direct negotiations. The Charter itself imposes on us the duty to make such an attempt. . . . We [the Russians] are inciting the Security Council to deal with the question seriously and to find a solution which would lead to the peaceful settlement of the problem by means of direct negotiations between Egypt and Israel."

No one reminded Mr. Vishinsky that in 1952 it was the Soviet bloc which helped to prevent the General Assembly from mustering the two-thirds majority necessary to pass a resolution which asked nothing except that the interested parties should seek to settle their differences by direct negotiations. Nor has any power picked up his challenge and put it to the test.

WHY have not the Western powers put their influence behind a resolution calling for peace discussions? Not because of fear of a Russian veto. It would appear that Britain is not ready to have an over-all settlement of the Palestine war until it knows the outcome of its negotiations with Egypt. Jordan represents a line of retreat should Britain be compelled to give up its Suez base. And if Jordan does provide the successor base, Britain will want an outlet to the sea through Israel. Support for the peace discussions so ardently desired by Israel is presumably to be the leverage by which Britain hopes to obtain this outlet.

The United States, angling for a Middle East Command allied to NATO and bases in Arab countries, is wary of attempting to force unwilling Arabs to negotiate for peace. Spurred on by this knowledge, the Arab states in the past months have made their most concerted attack on the armistice agreements since they were signed in 1949.

The accelerated violence of recent weeks may now force the hand of the Western allies under much less favorable circumstances.

The truce machinery, which even its chiefs admit has grown obsolete after five years, has received a number of blows from which it may not recover. The first was delivered by the Western Allies themselves when they refused to deal with "original sin," namely, the border violations initiated by Jordan, and chose instead to deal only with Israel's retaliatory act at Kibya. The condemnation of Israel, however justified, without a simultaneous attempt to bring about peace or even to mention the word, encouraged not only new violence but new violations of the armistice agreements.

The coup de grâce was delivered by Jordan's refusal on March 24 to meet with Israel on border violations, a meeting made mandatory by Article 12 of the armistice agreement, and the calm acceptance of this refusal on the

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same day by Secretary General Hammersjkold. Was it mere coincidence that this followed by a day the refusal of the Mixed Armistice Commission to find against Jordan in the Scorpion Pass disaster?

Israel's walkout from the commission following the Nahalin incident was the reaction to what appears to be inexplicable discrimination. The Kibya tragedy evoked statements of sympathy for Jordan, condemnation of Israel, and economic sanctions by the United States, even before there had been a finding of responsibility. The Scorpion Pass disaster, on March 17, has still produced no findings by the Mixed Armistice Commission, brought forth only mild expressions of regret from official British and American sources, and provoked no call for a Security Council session. Yet the attack on the Jordan village of Nahalin on March 29 brought strong condemnation of Israel within twenty-four hours. And it is only since Nahalin that any responsible source has even talked of the need for a Council meeting.

Israel's walkout on March 23, it may be assumed, was not merely a gesture of anger at the failure of the Mixed Armistice Commission to find against Jordan or the refusal of the chairman to repudiate the Jordanian allegation that Israelis were themselves responsible for the ambush. It was an attempt to compel more realistic action by the Security Council. Since March 17 Israel sources claim seventeen Jordan attacks on Israel territory, further attesting to the apparent incapacity of the truce commission as a deterrent agency.

Israel has made no attempt to disclaim responsibility for the attack on Nahalin. The lack of disclaimer may well be the beginning of a new Israeli policy of self-defense, if the U. N. fails to act to prevent violence. The consequences of such a policy no one can foretell.

Would the Russians veto a resolution calling for discussions between the Arab states and Israel? That is anybody's guess. Mr. Vishinsky proposed such action. Why not call his bluff and put Russia to the test? On the face of it, it seems hardly likely that Russia wants stability and settlement in the Middle East—unless and until some measure of East-West agreement is reached.

The explanation for Russia's veto of the resolution on the Egyptian blockade is to be found in the two Russian notes sent to Iraq and Pakistan on March 26 and 27. In both these notes the Soviet Union expressed dissatisfaction with any Middle East defense pact including Turkey and Pakistan, with Iraq as a possible third partner. Such a pact, allied to Nato, would mean the encirclement of Russia's backyard.

To bolster the warning implicit in these notes, Russia has now taken practical measures. By vetoing the resolution on Suez the Soviet Union is keeping the situation in the Middle East at a boiling point, thus delaying, if not preventing, the pact. Since the resolution's rejection was desired by Arab states, the veto also means a credit balance for Russia with the Arab governments. And among the Arab peoples, it means rolling up for Russia more prestige of a kind which has been accruing steadily of recent months. For each time the Soviet Union has thrown obstacles in the way of Western resolutions on Arab-Israel relations, the Arab press and radio have gone into panegyrics of praise.

Behind the Russian veto may be two other motivations. The 1951 resolution, violated by Egypt, was passed as a result of Western concern, not primarily with Israel, but for their own interests in preserving the principle of free passage through the Suez Canal in peace and in war. Russia has little reason to assist in preserving that principle. It makes little use of the canal now. In the event of war the canal would presumably be closed to Russia by the Western Allies. A second motivation hinted at by Vishinsky is the Soviet view that no Security Council decision can have legal force as long as Nationalist China remains seated as one of the permanent members. To safeguard this position the Russians will presumably permit no substantive resolution to pass on whatever subject, unless it suits their interests.

The passage of the New Zealand resolution would probably have made no substantial change in the existing Suez blockade. Since the Egyptians chose to ignore the 1951 Security Council resolution, there is little reason to suppose it would obey another admonition. But the importance of the resolution lay in the insistence of the majority that Egypt could not exercise the rights of belligerency. Mr. Vishinsky in his speech and in his veto supported Egypt's position on belligerent rights in contravention of the armistice agreements.

The tensions in the Middle East are approaching the breaking point. A moment may be reached when neither side can control the extremists in its population. Unless this is the moment the West is waiting for, it must move at once to prevent a head-on clash. According to reports, some of the Western powers, among them Britain, are not averse to a "controlled chaos" which would permit them to impose a settlement.

If this is not true, then the issue can be met by invoking the authority of the Council in behalf of peace discussions. This would be, moreover, the most realistic first step to implement President Eisenhower's desire, expressed at his news conference on March 31, to have other nations help both sides settle their disputes.

If the Russians veto such a move, their duplicity will have been exposed. Nor will it end the matter. There are many other ways for the Western powers to make clear that they are determined on peace discussion. If they mean it—the Arab states will know it.

Chaos will certainly not help Britain settle its Suez dispute with Egypt or to find a line of retreat in Jordan, with an outlet to the sea through Israel. Nor will instability help Washington attain a Middle East Command.

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H-Bomb and Diplomacy

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

NO differences between the United States and its European allies on great world issues have ever been so nakedly apparent as are their present differences on the hydrogen bomb and the Dulles pronouncement on Asia. This is a fact of gravest importance. No matter how close may be the other ties—ideological and economic—binding the United States to Western Europe, it will be extremely difficult in the long run to maintain an alliance among governments which are so sharply divided on such basic problems.

The differences became apparent within twenty-four hours after the first hydrogen bomb was exploded on March 1. To the European press the event was of supreme importance, capturing banner headlines in every large newspaper. Here for the first few days the news was treated almost with disdain; the New York *Daily News,* the most widely read journal in the country, gave it no more than a few lines on a back page. Only the discovery that a small Japanese fishing boat had been in the danger area and its crew victimized brought the story out of obscurity for the average American reader. Since then, of course, tension has been mounting here as well as abroad. The second blast, on March 26, beat upon nerves already frayed by fearful anxieties. Even in guarded comment Secretary of Defense Wilson described the second explosion as "unbelievable" in its destructive power. A United Press dispatch of March 30 warned that more was to come: "The United States is going ahead with its awesome thermonuclear tests in spite of sharp criticism in Europe and the Far East." The following day Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, told a shocked world that a single H-bomb could wipe out the heart of a city like New York or London.

The second blast added incalculably to the strain in American–West European relations. In an attempt to protect its major ally from criticism, Sir Winston Churchill told a turbulent House of Commons: "We have no power to stop this. . . . We should, indeed, be doing a great disservice to the free world if we sought in any way to impede the progress of our American allies in building up their overwhelming strength." In taking this stand, which represented a dramatic retreat from his former insistence that nuclear weapons must be "controlled," the Prime Minister risked his personal popularity. Not only Labor harangued him; so faithful a supporter as the *Daily Sketch* told him bluntly that this time he could not count even on the support of his lifelong followers. The London correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune* wrote: "The general impression was that Sir Winston, who said he was in hourly touch with the United States, had been severely rebuffed by General Eisenhower and the American government. Only such a setback could explain the weak showing Sir Winston made in Commons." In the end the Prime Minister was forced to yield to demands for a full-dress Parliamentary debate, which was scheduled to begin as this issue goes to press.

Expressing Europe's skepticism about certain of President Eisenhower's assurances, the Manchester *Guardian* said: "Will America consult its allies before using any atomic weapons? The answer is obscure and can never be quite firm, because of course it depends on events which cannot be forecast." The European press as a whole, which so fervently acclaimed Eisenhower's election, is now showing an increasing lack of confidence in him and his advisers.

APART from fear of the bomb itself, Europeans are concerned lest the establishment of a clear American preponderance in the fearsome weapon will diminish if not destroy Washington's willingness to negotiate with the Communist world. Dulles's speech before the Overseas Press Club tended to confirm this suspicion. It did more. In the opinion of all the United Nations diplomats with whom I have talked in the last few days, it mercilessly erased the small but real contribution the United States has made toward easing world tension in the last six months. On the day before Dulles spoke, James Reston of the New York *Times,* whose excellent State Department contacts are generally recognized, could write: "In spite of all the confusion, two major principles have been clearly established and defended [by the United States]: first, that it is the policy of this government to oppose expansion of Communist power and if possible to 'roll it back,' but in any event to live with it rather than vowing to destroy it; and second, that it is to America's best interests to work out these policies with its allies rather than on its own."

Do these two principles still stand now that Dulles has spoken? The Secretary undercut one by explicitly vowing to destroy communism in Southeast Asia, explaining: "This might have serious risks, but these risks are far less than would face us a few years from now if we dare not be resolute today." As for the second point—the working out of policy in collaboration with America's allies—the pro-American *Figaro* of Paris interpreted the Dulles speech to mean that France has been "supplanted" as the maker of policy in Southeast Asia and that French hopes for achieving peace at Geneva have been demolished.

This interpretation can by no means be considered extreme. Ray Cromley of the *Wall Street Journal,* writing from Washington, shares the *Figaro's* conclusions: "Indo-China will not be allowed to fall into Red hands—whatever the cost. . . . If the French give up and decide

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to pull out, the United States will call on the United Nations to send troops to Indo-China and enforce a blockade."

But for the United States to involve the U. N. in Indo-China may be easier said than done. The U. N. does not seem enthusiastic about having a second Korea deposited on its doorstep. It is doubtful that even Great Britain, for all its identity of interests with the United States in Southeast Asia, would be willing to follow this country into an adventure which might prove the threshold of World War III.

In the opinion of most diplomats, the gravest aspect of the Dulles speech is that it has probably wrecked the Geneva conference in advance. It looks as if the politicians in America who sought to calm the "Asia Firsters" by belittling Geneva as merely a "gesture" will prove to have been right. But hundreds of millions of people throughout the world look to Geneva for something substantial—for the initiation, perhaps, of a policy of peace in Asia that will forever make unnecessary the dropping of the H-bomb.

As popular outcry against the H-bomb mounted—especially in Europe—over the week-end, the Western Big Three called on the United Nations to bring the issue as quickly as possible before the Disarmament Commission. The move, though welcomed, did little to assuage anxiety, for the commission's past record is not one of constructive accomplishment. In England especially the call remained for direct meetings with Malenkov. Yet in the minds of many Western diplomats the conviction was growing that the first practical step toward a solution of the H-bomb problem was to reduce the immediate and growing danger of direct American intervention in Indo-China.

SOCIALISM IN REVERSE

G. O. P.'s New Economy . . *by Irving H. Flamm*

RESPONDING to a question at a press conference, President Eisenhower said that in his attitude toward the people he is a liberal, in economic matters a conservative. A neat straddle. Ike really wants to please all factions and make good in office. But if he is to avoid finishing with a General Grant record, he will have to lead, not follow, the business tycoons around him.

Big business needs protection against its own shortsightedness. Its mistakes today parallel those it made in 1930. Then too the threat to our economy was a deficiency of buying power at the lower levels. But business men saw only their lessened profits. Yielding to their pressures, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation pumped hundred of millions into banks, insurance companies, and railroads to check the wave of bankruptcies. The loans did ease some financial pains at the top, but little of this money flowed down to consumers; and the unemployed lists kept growing.

Yet the same indirect "trickle-down" methods are being applied today. As the *U. S. News and World Report* of February 12 noted, Eisenhower's recession remedy will differ from the New Deal's: instead of putting money into low-income groups directly, he will rely on "stimulants for business men to encourage expansion." It is assumed that the way to keep industry going is to constantly increase its rewards. If goods are not selling, assure profits by subsidies, tariffs, tax concessions, government loans, or guaranties. This is neither free enterprise nor public enterprise but a new hybrid variety, a form of socialism in reverse with profits appropriated by private individuals and losses socialized through taxes and higher prices.

In housing, billions have been made by promoters, lenders, and contractors through government-guaranteed first mortgages that covered all costs and yielded handsome profits. There are subsidies to the transportation industry, Post Office losses to aid publishers and mail-order firms, big depletion credits to oil and mining corporations, profitable long-term contracts to producers of tungsten and manganese, cost-plus defense contracts sweetened by big depreciation write-offs, price-maintenance laws to shake off competition, tariff laws which, though conceived long ago to encourage new and infant industries, now protect from foreign competition dozens of mature industries. Even the nobly inspired Point 4 program to help underdeveloped countries is being revised to fit this trend: capital investments in those countries will be guaranteed by the government against losses from nationalization or expropriation.

Another ominous reversal of policy is the proposed income-tax credit for dividend income. Under the Roosevelt Administration a tax preference was given to earned income (wages and salaries) by permitting a 10 per cent deduction on it. The preference was repealed as a war measure. Instead of restoring it, the new tax bill proposes a preference for unearned (investment) income. What capitalist press agents like to call the "profit and loss" system may now more aptly be named the "private profit and public loss" system.

This coddling of business, so utterly foreign to the free-enterprise concept, is tied in with the notion that prosperity rests on "confidence." But confidence today has little to do with psychological factors. It rests on cold facts, and the most convincing fact is the parade of

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cash customers. This parade is now petering out. If anything about our economy is clear, it is the deficiency of buying power in at least half the population.

CAPITALISM as a concept had much to commend it. Its most valuable feature in the view of Adam Smith was its built-in, automatic self-regulator—free competition. That delicate device, by limiting profits, enabled the system to spread purchasing power widely enough to carry off its entire output. Temporary gluts were not serious, for under competitive races to unload, prices tumbled and consumers soon absorbed the surpluses. Those were periods of "rolling adjustment." It does not work that way today. The self-regulator was badly damaged by a cancerous monopoly growth. This led to an over-concentration of wealth at the top, leaving insufficient buying power at the bottom to take the ever-growing flood of goods from our mechanized plants. Since all efforts to remove the growth have failed, the regulator is unlikely ever to work automatically again.

So we have to help it along, compensating for its defects in other ways. In short, we can no longer have a free economy. Government intervention is here to stay.

Our moralists deplore the concentration of wealth at the top and the poverty at the bottom. But far more important than the moral aspect is the mechanical problem. To supplement the work of capitalism's damaged self-regulator is a tough engineering assignment. The business interests would be wise to put their experts to work on it instead of spending their millions to glamorize "free" enterprise.

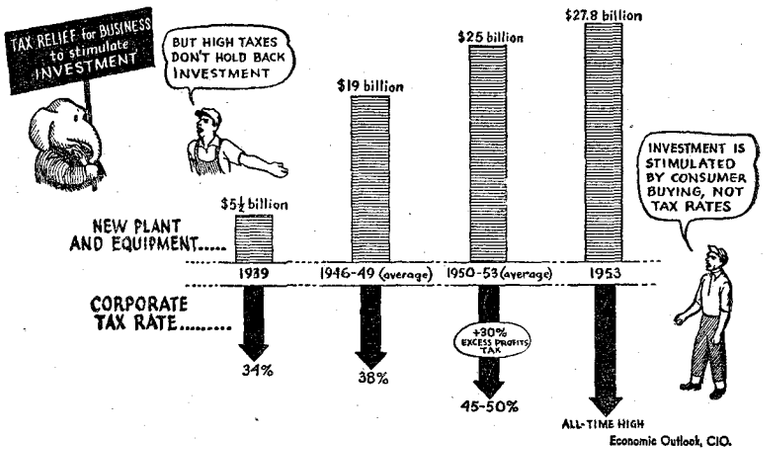
Their stock claim that their profits and savings are invested and thus returned to the wage stream is a misleading half-truth. It fails to explain that there are two types of investment: (1) for expansion—for producing more tools, machines, building, and so on; and (2) for buying into existing enterprises —acquiring shares, bonds, mortgages, land, commodities. The first type does rejoin the wage stream, but because it involves more risk, especially when unsold surpluses appear, it has less appeal for the big boys. The high tax is an added deterrent. Big investors prefer tax-exempt securities or the opportunities for capital gains offered by the second type. The unique spectacle now being witnessed—a booming stock market alongside lower commodity prices, declining business, and mounting failures, especially in small business—is proof that the flood of savings is competing in the securities markets for existing shares in the larger corporations. A Wall Street investment service reports "plenty of money, fully 275 billions of liquid assets."

It is nonsense to assume there is a shortage of savings. The present rate of business investment—$27,000,000,000 for 1953 (partly from depreciation reserves)—is far less than half of the total savings.

If savings were balanced by investment to expand our economy, all would be well. But that is not in the mind of our business leaders. In the Congressional hearing of February 2 on the Economic Report, Secretary Humphrey expressed satisfaction with present conditions, saying that 1954 would be a prosperous year, behind 1953 by only a few per cent; after all, he added, "we can't make new high records each year." But new high records each year are precisely what the economy *must* make to avert trouble. And why not? Admittedly our productive capacity increases each year. Consumption must keep up, and it cannot so long as the consuming masses are saddled with the risks and losses transferred to them from the shoulders of business. Something like 20 per cent of industry produces capital goods. This means a steadily increasing amount of consumer goods. If consumer buying does not keep abreast, lay-offs in these capital-goods industries are inevitable, there being no point to increasing capacity if you cannot sell current output. Loss of wages in these industries reduces consumer buying, more lay-offs follow, and so the downward spiral starts. Like a bicycle rider, the economy must move steadily forward or begin to topple.

WHEN business was really free and competitive, or nearly so, when enterprisers were enterprising, accepted risks and absorbed losses, dislocations in the economy were not too serious. Business casualties in the free-market jungle were part of the corrective process. Today industry avoids producing for a free market. It prefers a backlog of orders, which increases the cost to consumers, and if goods pile up despite this precaution, government aid is invoked. No longer does business pay the penalty of recklessness or lack of foresight. This makes for inefficiency and waste. The government, taking over the risks of farmers, finds itself with millions of tons of food spoiling in warehouses. Under the guise of stockpiling for emergencies but actually to keep prices from sagging, mountains of other goods, soft and hard, are kept in overloaded storage buildings, and consumers are forced not only to pay higher prices for such goods but to contribute in taxes for the cost of this storage and assistance to business. Far from rejecting government intervention, business thrives on it. But for the nation as a whole, the present trend is the road to ruin.

The treatment required to make our economy efficient even in peace time must aim to cure its systemic ills and not merely to cover up the symptoms with such stimulants as war scares, militarization, and inflation. These will only aggravate the trouble.



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NEHRU'S DILEMMA

Ideals vs. Politics . . *by Elizabeth Partridge*

New Delhi

THE current political struggle between right and left in India is in precarious balance in Travancore-Cochin, the most southerly state in the Indian union, the most densely populated, the most literate, and until recently one of the most efficiently administered. The government is controlled by a coalition, with the Praja Socialists, who won 19 seats in the recent elections, occupying the Treasury bench in a House of 118. A group more than twice as strong, the United Front of Leftists, forms the opposition. The largest single political party in the house, the Congress Party, is in the indeterminate position of being neither with the government—in so far as it is not in the coalition and does not subscribe to the government program—nor with the opposition, since it bitterly opposes the main constituent of the United Front, that is, the Communists.

For a long time before the elections which ended there in late February, Travancore-Cochin was looked on as a test case in the contest between Congress and the mainly Communist left, with the Praja Socialist Party in the middle and shifting its weight from one side to the other. There as elsewhere the Praja Socialists are a group of people who, having failed to realize their political programs or personal ambitions within Congress, left it in a huff. The party has acquired greater significance in Travancore-Cochin than in other states through holding the balance of power between Congress and the Communists.

The only other state in which a new legislature has been elected recently is the Patiala and East Punjab States Union (P. E. P. S. U.), which is as far away from Travancore-Cochin geographically as it is in its political circumstances. The economy of the region is tied to the land, which is still held by a small number of people, but the level of prosperity is as much higher than in Travancore-Cochin as the level of literacy and political consciousness is lower. The challenge which Congress faced here came not from the extreme left but from the extreme right—the communalist and religious parties. It sought an alliance, therefore, not with the church as in Travancore-Cochin but with the landed aristocracy and the remnants of the old princely order. Its success in the P. E. P. S. U. was as startling as it was indecisive in Travancore-Cochin. In a house of sixty members it won thirty-seven seats.

THUS in both states Congress succeeded in keeping the extremists out of power—the Communists in Travancore-Cochin and the religious fanatics in Patiala–East Punjab. But in both cases it had to use somewhat dubious means, giving up the principles it has supported in the past most eloquently: that political parties must not appeal to religious sentiment, and that land must belong to the man who works it. Its alliance with the landed and princely elements in the P. E. P. S. U.—a similar though still incipient alliance exists in the neighboring state of Rajasthan—will inevitably mean that those within the party who are opposed to its more progressive trends will grow stronger, in spite of the highly imaginative leadership of Nehru.

But what Congress gained in these two states is far from unimportant. Emergence to power of the Communists in Travancore-Cochin or of the fanatical wing of the Sikhs in the P. E. P. S. U. would have weakened the salutary unifying control which the central government in New Delhi at present exercises over the states. The constitution of India, which was framed at a time when the regional sensibilities of the former princely states had still to be accommodated, did not provide for a very strong centralizing force. The situation was helped, however, by the fact that the main party, Congress, was in power at the center as well as in all the states. This extra-constitutional force for unification would have vanished in Travancore-Cochin and the P. E. P. S. U. if parties more clearly opposed to Congress than the Praja Socialists had come to power.

The long-term question is: what price has Congress paid for achieving this advantage? The answer will depend very largely on how long and how effectively it is given to Mr. Nehru to continue to lead his party. If his leadership is weakened or destroyed, the new allies Congress has brought in for temporary advantage will acquire a permanent influence over it, an influence against the progressiveness of its past policies. On the other hand, if Nehru remains the chief force behind Congress for long enough, India might still be able to have the best of both worlds.

MEANWHILE New Delhi considers itself the gainer in still another election—this one held beyond India's border. No Indian official would comment for the record on the resounding victory won by the United Front over the Moslem League in East Pakistan. Yet there is deep appreciation of the fact that the United Front's successful campaign was based, at least in part, on a call for closer trade ties between Pakistan and India.

Moreover, there is a tendency here—some of it may be wishful thinking—to believe that the results may diminish the American State Department's eagerness to grant arms to Pakistan. After all, the voting did show opposition to the arms pact from a large percentage of Pakistan's electorate, and it has put the chief protagonist of the pact, Premier Mohammed Ali, leader of the Moslem League, in an equivocal position.

In his first informal analysis of the

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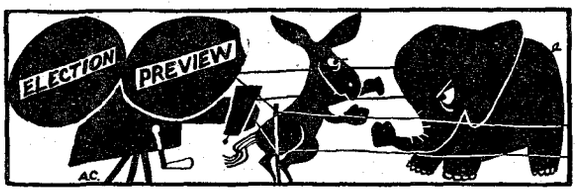
results to Congress members, Nehru discreetly avoided comment along these lines. India's views on United States military aid have been stated—overstated, some feel. In the present tension between India and Pakistan any official Indian comment might be interpreted as uncharitable, particularly since one of Mohammed Ali's first moves was for better relations between the two countries. The fact remains, however, that India will profit if more realistic economic policies are adopted in Pakistan. On this count the East Pakistan United Front acted as India's spokesman unasked.



Illinois and Kentucky Spotlight

Peoria, Illinois

IN ILLINOIS the election spotlight will be focused on April 13 on the Republican primary in the Eighteenth Congressional District. The district comprises six counties—Bureau, Marshall, Peoria, Putnam, Stark, and Tazewell—but Peoria County dominates, normally casting more than half the total Republican primary vote. A strong labor-farmer-clergy alliance has been formed to support State Representative Robert H. Allison of Pekin against the incumbent, Harold H. Velde. Allison is a well-known labor attorney, and organized labor, with some 50,000 members in the Peoria-Pekin industrial area, is solidly behind him. The Protestant clergy also are actively opposing Velde. Of twelve leading ministers interviewed in Peoria, a heavily Protestant community, only one expressed approval for Velde. The winner of the primary will face Howard S. Beeney, the unopposed Democratic nominee, in November.

The Allison supporters have compiled a fascinating record of Mr. Velde's votes in Congress. He has consistently voted against public housing, including defense housing; against rent control; against the 75-cents-an-hour minimum-wage bill; against F. E. P. C. with enforcement powers; against funds for public power and reclamation; against veterans'-welfare measures; against the Brannan plan; against soil conservation; against federal funds for education and hospital construction; against higher unemployment compensation. On the other hand, he has voted to continue Taft-Hartley and for tidelands oil, the rubber-plant give-away, the removal of the excess-profits tax, and every witch-hunting bill that has come along. Allison, of course, has an uphill fight, but this bleak record will hardly endear Velde to the rank and file of his constituents. The campaign is being followed with great interest in the Middle West.

R. G.

Louisville, Kentucky

KENTUCKY now has one Republican, Sherman Cooper, in the United States Senate and one Democrat, the conservative Earle C. Clements; in the House it is represented by two Republicans and six Democrats. The best guess at the moment is that the Republicans will lose one seat in the House and that Senator Cooper will be beaten by Alben Barkley. The doubtful House seat is now held by John Robsion, an uninspired Eisenhower Republican from Louisville, which is normally Democratic. Last year the Democrats showed great strength in Louisville's municipal elections, winning a rousing victory.

Alben Barkley, of course, enjoys vast popularity in Kentucky. His strength with the Democratic organization and his basic liberalism were illustrated by a recent incident in the state legislature. The state Attorney General, J. D. Buckman, with the connivance, according to report, of the other state officials, had caused to be introduced in the legislature a fantastic "anti-subversive" bill. Known as the Buckman bill, it provided that all "subversive" groups, including the Communist Party, should be outlawed; that loyalty oaths should be required of all candidates; that state and local agencies should be authorized to require loyalty oaths of all employees; that there should be grand-jury investigations of "subversives" and that a black list should be maintained by the Attorney General. When the bill was introduced, there seemed to be not a chance in the world that it could be defeated. Then, suddenly, it was buried in committee. Later it was learned that Barkley, who was planning to make McCarthyism a major issue this fall, felt the bill would be an embarrassment, and his wishes were respected by the Democrats in the legislature.

John Sherman Cooper is an unpredictable man. A graduate of the Harvard Law School, he is something of an intellectual. He was sent to the Senate for two years in a special election in 1946, and there distinguished himself as an internationalist lamb in a den of isolationist lions. He was defeated for reelection in 1948. In the following year he was appointed an alternate delegate to the United Nations, where he served through 1951. In 1952 he defeated a bumbling Democrat, Thomas Underwood, for another two-year unexpired term in the Senate. His record for the past two years is schizophrenic. He voted against the tidelands-oil bill, the Bricker amendment, and confirmation of Federal Housing Administrator Cole. But he voted for confirmation of Robert E. Lee, the protégé of Senator McCarthy and J. Edgar Hoover, as a member of the Federal Communications Commission and for Albert Beeson as a member of the National Labor Relations Board. A friend of the T. V. A., Senator Cooper has nevertheless declined to recommend to the President that Gordon Clapp be reappointed general chairman.

The result of Senator Cooper's zigzag operations is that a good many Republicans and "independent voters"—whatever that means—regard him as perhaps too liberal for their taste. This is important. Barkley's home district is the First, originally a Democratic district but with a strong Republican element. Barkley should carry many of these Republicans merely on the strength of his personal popularity.

RICHARD HARWOOD,
Louisville *Times*

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The INFORMER

by Frank J. Donner

DURING the past year the political inquisition of the post-war period took a sharp turn and began to be directed against liberal democracy, which it attacked as a "mask for treason." In this attack the role of the informer is pivotal. It is the informer who can improvise the sensational revelations that will invest the normal functioning of democracy with conspiratorial trappings. It is largely through his testimony that the circle of "plotters" can be widened to include New Dealers, miscellaneous liberals, home-grown radicals, and independent left-wingers. It is his legerdemain that makes "Communists" of trusted figures in American political life and substitutes for the terminology of the old Dies committee—"fellow-traveler," "pink," and "parlor Socialist"—the new jargon of "spies," "conspirators," and "agents." A great many years ago Sir Erskine May observed that the relation between political informers and the government that uses them is one of "extreme delicacy," and that the character of the political informer is usually "so odious" that his ignominy is bound to be shared, sooner or later, by the government that uses him. And so it is today. I hope to show in this article that the continued use of political informers offers a grave threat to the American tradition of individual freedom and fair play and to the preservation of national unity and morale.

THE ROLE OF THE INFORMER

TODAY scores of political informers, most of them ex-Communists, have become circuit-riding witnesses, appearing again and again in Smith Act and similar prosecutions, deportation proceedings, and before legislative committees. (It is, of course, sometimes difficult to distinguish between the political informer who says that he joined an organization only to spy upon its members and its activities and the witness who was once an authentic member but has since renounced his former faith. But however valid the distinction may be in other contexts, it has little relevance to this article.) Almost every day their testimony is helping to send someone to jail or ruining someone's reputation or disrupting a home by bringing about the deportation of some member of the family.

The demand for the services of political informers is fed by the frequently sensational stories they tell on the witness stand. The more they talk, the more they are in demand; and the more they are in demand, the more they talk. The political informer has become the star witness—the main attraction—in the circus-like hearings staged by Velde and McCarthy. His accusations, headlined in the press, have come to represent a kind of informal indictment or public presentment. The denials or other statements of the persons accused seldom appear at the same time but usually trail the accusations by days or even weeks. Often the accusation is first made in executive session and then "leaked" to the press. In either case, the victim gets his public hearing only after sensational disclosures have created so much prejudice against him that no defense he may offer is likely to be effective. It does not matter that the informer's testimony is often stale or mere hearsay based on hearsay—Benjamin Gitlow ceased to be a member of the Communist Party in 1929, Joseph Kornfeder in 1934, Manning Johnson in 1940, Paul Crouch in 1941, Louis Budenz in 1945. In some types of political prosecutions, as in conspiracy cases, it is always possible to make use of these ancient recollections. For example, Paul Crouch has repeated to a number of juries in Smith Act prosecutions the story of how he plotted in Moscow twenty-five years ago to "knock out" the Panama Canal and conferred with members of the General Staff of the Red Army, including the late Marshal Tukhachevsky, on methods of infiltrating the armed forces of the major capitalist powers.

No statute of limitations bars the curiosity of Congressional probers. The staleness of the charge against a man is apparently as immaterial to them as the staleness of the testimony on which the charge is based. They have even permitted informers to accuse the dead. Appearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities some years ago, Mrs. Mary Stalcup Markward, an informer for the F. B. I., testified for hours "without benefit of any notes," recalling the names of dozens of Communist Party members and their wives' first names, and fixing the exact dates of meetings which had taken place five or six years previously (New York *Times*, July 12, 1951, page 9). But her recent testimony that Mrs. Annie Lee Moss,

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Army Signal Corps employee, was once a member of the Northeast Club of the Communist Party in Washington, was denied under oath by Mrs. Moss without qualification.

Fear of a perjury prosecution, coupled with the procedure of cross-examination, will usually hold a witness to a reasonably accurate version of facts within his knowledge. But the threat of a perjury prosecution has lost much of its force in the case of political informers. Even when a political informer's testimony has been sharply contradicted, and by a number of witnesses, perjury prosecutions have not been initiated against him. Any prosecutor who has obtained convictions by the use of an informer's testimony is likely to be reluctant to proceed against the informer. If a test of veracity is made, the proceeding will probably be undertaken against the accused, not the informer. An awareness of this probability has induced some individuals to invoke the protection of the Fifth Amendment rather than run the risk of a perjury indictment by contradicting the testimony of an informer. It has also given the informer a giddy sense of power.

But the real basis of the informer's power is not found solely in the weakening of traditional legal sanctions. The root of the matter is that the political informer is coming to be regarded as a social hero, as an exalted being endowed with special authority, insight, and reliability. "Curiously enough," wrote Richard C. Donnelly in the *Yale Law Journal* of November, 1951 (Vol. 60, p. 1126), "the political informer, spy, or agent provocateur is not now regarded with the same opprobrium as his brother who participates in other types of crime. Public opinion being what it is, his credibility is at a premium. His veracity count exceeds that of his more orthodox and less eccentric fellows. He may admit to all kinds of past knavery and mendacity, but the greater his self-abasement the greater his claim to belief. That he now acts from patriotic motives is conclusively presumed." Political informers have been honored by being given the keys to the city (Budenz in Boston), by special days in their honor (Cvetic Day, Philbrick Day), and by banquets at which they have received various awards and citations for Americanism. Proposals have even been advanced by members of Congress to award informers medals of gallantry similar to those given soldiers for gallantry on the field of battle (see New York *Times,* July 12, 1951, p. 9). Under such circumstances the informer is likely to feel that he can get away with anything, and more often than not events justify his optimism.

THE GAME OF HARE AND HOUNDS

AS INFORMERS grow in number and in power, it is not surprising that the ordinary citizen begins to look with suspicion at his neighbors and associates. "We are dividing," to quote Bernard DeVoto (*Harper's,* October, 1949), "into the hunted and the hunters." Once the political informer is regarded as a hero, there is reason to fear him. The fear, in most cases, is not of the truth that the informer may reveal but of the power he possesses to distort the truth or to traduce it. And there is always the very real chance of mistaken identity. Perhaps the best-known case of this kind is that of Anna M. Rosenberg, who was nominated to be Assistant Secretary of Defense by President Truman. An ex-Communist, Ralph De Sola, swore that Mrs. Rosenberg had been a member of the John Reed Club when he was a member. Despite Mrs. Rosenberg's categorical denial, De Sola insisted on the accuracy of his identification after a direct confrontation. (Hearings of the Committee on Armed Services, United States Senate, Eighty-first Congress, Second Session, Part 2, p. 117.) As a person of prominence and standing, Mrs. Rosenberg was able to win vindication, but a victim less favorably placed might have been ruined by De Sola's testimony. De Sola, it should be noted, was never prosecuted.

Any steady newspaper reader must realize that political informers are under great pressure to provide the Congressional committees with a never-ending flow of new names, since each batch of new names means more sensations, more headlines. This kind of pressure is not exerted solely on professional informers. To win "clearance" for a job in motion pictures individuals have been asked to furnish "lists of names," with the cynical comment in some cases that since A has already been named by some other witness it will not hurt him to be again named. Those named are in turn called up and asked to name others. Individuals are torn between the necessity of earning a livelihood and their reluctance to forfeit their sense of personal integrity. Witness the case of the Hollywood actor whose counsel asked the committee to excuse him from naming others since he was generally "cooperative." Said counsel: "It is only saving that little bit of something that you live with. You have to see and walk in Hollywood with that. You have to meet your children and your wife with it and your friends. It is that little bit that you want to save. . . . [The witness's] honest and sincere opinion is that what he is going to give you will eat up his insides and you will get nothing, no more than you have today." (Hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities, March 21, 1951.) But in the end the names were given.

The hunt for names has become a game of hare and hounds marked by a paper trail of subpoenas. Last year, when a former West Coast newspaperman turned over to the Un-American Activities Committee a long list of names, Representative Donald Jackson hailed it as "one of the choicest crops of Communists this committee has ever received." Committee representatives have been known to plead with those who have already appeared: "Can't you give us just one more name?" Failure to name names, indeed, "clouds" the sincerity of the ex-Communist's recantation. In actual practice, therefore, it would seem that just as the only reliable anti-Communist is the ex-Communist, so the only bona fide ex-Communist is the informer.

It is not only the Congressional committees that are exerting pressure on us to become a nation of informers. F. B. I. agents often visit persons whose names appear on various "subversive" lists and

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urge them to "clear" themselves by supplying the names of associates, past or present. A person's relatives, friends, neighbors, teachers, employers, and servants may be harassed solely by reason of some chance reference to them. Information so obtained was once kept confidential; now it not infrequently turns up in the hands of the various committees. In the wake of various investigations, teachers in the New York City school system have been ordered to name former associates in organizations to which they once belonged or to face dismissal. Writing in a January, 1953, issue of *Woman's Day*, J. Edgar Hoover warned that women members of the Communist Party "outwardly . . . are ordinary citizens, like the woman in the next block, the wife of the local business man, or the mother of little Bobby." He urged "the women of America" to report immediately "any definite information" to the F. B. I. In *This Week* of November 3, 1953, he urged ex-Communists to turn in the names of past and present party members, since "the old member who may give every indication of having dropped out of the party may actually be operating on an underground assignment." In view of such official pronouncements it is not surprising that various organizations—local "anti-Communist" committees and the like—have created name-collecting and snooping agencies even in villages.

The F. B. I. is required of course to do a great deal of checking-up on personnel for various federal agencies. In the course of these investigations much miscellaneous information is collected, including rumor, gossip, and malicious falsehoods, as well as facts about innocent errors. The F. B. I. has always insisted that it does not "evaluate" information of this sort and that it treats it as confidential. But the extent of the "checking-up" that is nowadays being done intensifies fear of the informer and spreads suspicion and mistrust. Here and there voices have been raised in protest against the growing power of the F. B. I. as a political police. Dean Carl W. Ackerman of the Columbia University School of Journalism has announced that he will no longer cooperate with federal, state, or police agencies investigating his students "except on written request and advice of counsel." He pointed out that federal agencies "interview professors, public-school teachers, and references, and follow up leads like prosecuting attorneys. . . . Students are 'tried' secretly without their knowledge and without an opportunity of explaining or defending their records before their employment by any governmental agency." As a result, he said, silence on controversial subjects in private conversations as well as in classrooms is "becoming so prevalent that it is dangerous to our liberty."

ALTHOUGH Attorney General Brownell has denied that the Senate Permanent Investigating Committee has access to the confidential files of the F. B. I., the denial has not impressed Senator J. William Fulbright. Senator Fulbright is convinced that McCarthy's committee "gets any information it wants from those files, whether the information has been authenticated or not" (Associated Press, March 14, 1954). Since he feels that the information is being misused, Senator Fulbright has announced that he will no longer give F. B. I. agents his "private opinions and judgments." While President Eisenhower has said that the files of the F. B. I. will remain "inviolate" as long as he is President, he has conceded that summaries and factual information relating to loyalty and security files have been turned over to Congressional committees. And the fact that Mr. Brownell used material from the files of the F. B. I. to make a partisan political attack on a former President is further evidence that these files are not kept strictly confidential.

Misuse of the information, even if it has occurred in only a limited number of cases, has had the effect of heightening public fear of the informer. In the last year or so the press has carried numerous stories indicating that people are increasingly wary about responding to polls, that it is becoming difficult to get signatures to routine nominating petitions; and by inference it may be assumed that the F. B. I. is meeting with a new reticence and wariness in its personal interviews. For Senator Fulbright is not alone in his realization that "in this atmosphere that McCarthy has created, you can go back and crucify a man for something he did twenty years ago."

In at least one case (75 F. Supp. 620), a judge has granted an injunction against the appearance and note-taking of police at a union meeting on the ground that their presence constituted an interference with the freedom-of-speech-and-assembly provisions of the First Amendment. But as Richard Donnelly pointed out in the article cited above, "the likelihood that spies are present may have an even more demoralizing and disruptive effect upon discussion and assembly than if their identity is known."

So many informers are at work now that they sometimes collide. Matthew Cvetic, testifying before the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1950, named George Dietze and Joseph Mazzei as members of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh, and as a result both men lost their jobs. Dietze immediately protested, claiming that he too was an F. B. I. agent. Mazzei held his fire; not until three years later, in a prosecution in Pittsburgh, did he reveal that he too was an informer. As might be expected, Cvetic had informed on Mazzei, just as Mazzei had informed on Cvetic.

The boldness and zeal of the political informers is also increasing. One informer testified that he recruited three members of his family into the Communist Party and then reported their names to the F. B. I. Another has admitted enrolling his brother-in-law—without the

The Informer: Self-Portrayed

THE informer is different, particularly the ex-Communist informer. He risks little. He sits in security and uses his special knowledge to destroy others. He has that special information to give because he knows these others' faces, voices, and lives, because he once lived within their confidence, in a shared faith. . . . If he had not done those things he would have no use as an informer. Because he has that use, the police protect him. When they whistle, he fetches a soiled bone of information. . . . He is no longer a man. He is free only to the degree in which he understands what he is doing and why he must do it. Let every ex-Communist look unblinkingly at that image. It is himself.—*Whittaker Chambers in "Witness."*

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latter's knowledge—and then turning in his name. Still another informer has admitted that he invented scores of names to turn in. Several have testified that as party members they won recruiting prizes. (These and similar examples appear in the records of the New York Smith Act trials.) Not infrequently the informer is an agent provocateur, as is seen in this excerpt from the testimony of Herbert A. Philbrick under cross-examination in 1951 before the Subversive Activities Control Board. (Philbrick, it should be noted, asserts that he had established contact with the F. B. I. before joining the Communist Party.)

Q. Did you keep a list of those people from whom you obtained money, non-Communists?

A. A list was kept in the files of American Youth for Democracy. I had no list.

Q. Did you turn in the names of the contributors to the F. B. I?

A. Yes.

Q. Even though they were non-Communists?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Even though they contributed to the A. Y. D. at your solicitation, as a result of your solicitation?

A. That is right.

THE MAKING OF AN INFORMER

THE motives of the political informer are highly complex. "Why," asks Donnelly (*op. cit.* p. 1126), "does an apostate turn against his former comrades? Psychiatric studies are wanting. Surely he does not invariably act from patriotic motives alone. Conceivably, he is moved by hate, fear, revenge, or perhaps a pathetic desire to regain status and respectability. If he has meanwhile embraced a new dogmatism, his retaliation may be a form of expiation or atonement—his denunciation, a rite of absolution. The spy too may act from motives not entirely honorable. He may be stirred by revenge, fear, hate, or pecuniary considerations. He may be just a neurotic busybody." It should never be forgotten that the ex-Communist who is not a genuine apostate might be subject to prosecution as an accomplice.

While it is obvious that political informers, like other types of informers, are not likely to be paragons of virtue, the number who have good reason either to fear the law or to ingratiate themselves with law-enforcement officers is disturbingly large. The informer Mazzei pleaded guilty last year in a Pittsburgh court to an adultery and bastardy charge. Later he sought to retract the plea on the ground that he had entered it on the advice of the F. B. I., which, he said, wanted to avoid the embarrassment a public trial on this charge might create for a man they intended to use as a government witness in the Pittsburgh Smith Act prosecution. The F. B. I. denied having given him the advice, and the court refused to quash the plea. Records show that William H. Teto, by his own account an informer for the last twelve years, was twice arrested on charges of being absent without leave from the army and several times for larceny. Dewey Price, another informer, has a record that includes three criminal convictions. Paul Crouch served time in Alcatraz Prison. Other examples might be given.

THE existence of a large and growing body of anti-subversive legislation, state as well as federal, has greatly increased the government's power to compel the cooperation of informers. In most cases the pressure is implicit in the situation. In the Hawaiian Smith Act prosecution, Henry S. Toyama, who had earlier sworn that he was not a Communist Party member, conceded from the witness stand that he was making "a reasonable assumption" that he would not be prosecuted for perjury because of his cooperation with the prosecution. In the most recent trial of Harry Bridges, a seaman named James Stewart gave an affidavit to the effect that he had repeatedly been induced to give false testimony concerning Bridges "under the threat that proceedings would otherwise be taken against me." The fact that so many informers live under the shadow of some prior cloud—fear of being charged as an accomplice, fear of deportation, fear of being charged with perjury—constitutes valid ground for careful scrutiny of their testimony and explains why many anti-Communists are reluctant to accept it.

The ex-Communist political informer often exhibits a special brand of bias. Who can read the embittered tirades of a Gitlow, a Crouch, or a Budenz without sensing it? Budenz has insisted that ex-Communists are "the most truthful people in the world" because they have had a "resurrection within themselves." But what strange "resurrection" led Benjamin Gitlow to testify as he did at the deportation hearing of the late Lewis Corey, one of the leading anti-Communist intellectuals in the United States for thirty years, that he had no reason to know of Corey's anti-communism? This is a strange lapse by the dean of American anti-Communists. Could it be that Gitlow had forgotten that in 1919 he and Corey were bitter political rivals, each presiding over conventions of different factions of the Communist Party? That Corey then used another name would hardly account for the lapse.

Often other brands of bias appear in the testimony of the ex-Communist. Take the case of Ralph De Sola, who testified against Anna M. Rosenberg. His former wife, Helen Winner, was called as a witness before the Senate Committee on the Armed Services. After Miss Winner denied knowing Mrs. Rosenberg as a member of the John Reed Club, she testified as below:

Senator Hunt: Would you care to tell the committee while you were married with Mr. De Sola, would you say that he was friendly to the Jewish people?

Miss Winner: I would say this: that Mr. De Sola, who was half a Jew and half not, has a great deal of conflict in his own mind on the subject. I think he makes a cause of it. I mean, I think what he is inclined to do, you see, is when he has failures of his own in the outside world of one sort or another, he will always project it on some outside situation; that is, he is not the kind of person ever to say, "Maybe it is my fault."

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THE INFORMER ON THE STAND

Louis Budenz

IN 1950 Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, a Catholic and a conservative, made a speech from the floor of the Senate on the subject of Louis Budenz. He opened by describing Budenz as "America's No. 1 professional witness in all matters concerning loyalty, patriotism, and 'political reliability.'" Reminding the Senate that the former *Daily Worker* editor had been using the authority of the Catholic church in his anti-Communist activities, Chavez declared Budenz to be guilty of bigamy under New York law since he was involved in a common-law marriage with one woman while married to another. Chavez went on: "Budenz likes to attribute his sordid past to the corrupt influence of the Communist Party, but this is hardly correct inasmuch as his depravity reached its depths before he joined the Communists in 1935, at the tender age of forty-four."

The Senator urged that Budenz be required to list immediately the names of all his Communist colleagues, lest through his "surprising flashes of memory" he make new exposures for political purposes. "Regarded as an infallible authority on Communists and communism," Budenz, Chavez said, "could pass no test of credibility. . . . In an immigration proceeding when he was under oath he refused to answer twenty-five questions on the grounds that the answers might incriminate him." Chavez then expressed his fear that Budenz was being developed as a tool for the destruction of the democratic process and declared that "many innocent persons are convicted by perjured testimony possibly given by someone like Budenz." He added: "As a private citizen and a public witness, this man has impeached and exposed himself as a devious, conspiratorial, warped personality who uses words and information as instruments of propaganda and not for their intrinsic truth. Budenz is constitutionally unable to give a straight answer, justifying his foul means by the perverted ends he seeks. I do not think he knows truth from falsehood any more."

WAS the Senator's characterization too strong? It may be best tested against Budenz's own performance—a leading one—in the famous Lattimore case. In its investigation of Senator McCarthy's sensational charges about "card-carrying Communists" in the State Department and his reference to Owen Lattimore as the "top Communist agent" in the United States, the Tydings committee heard from Louis Budenz. At the outset a curious fact emerges from his testimony. According to his own admission, he had given some three thousand hours of his time to the F. B. I. from 1946 to early 1950. But he first identified Lattimore as a Communist in 1950 before the Tydings committee. Even then his testimony was unusually circumspect. He said that at Communist meetings in 1937 and 1943, neither of which Lattimore attended, Lattimore was discussed as though he were a Communist. Budenz then said that in 1944 a prominent Communist had advised him to consider Lattimore as one; he recalled, further, that an onion-skin paper had been circulated within the party which designated Lattimore in code as a Communist.

Pressed as to Lattimore's precise party status, Budenz referred to him as a Communist "under discipline," who had no "vestige of party membership about him." But this, the witness insisted, was the equivalent of membership, since one came "under discipline" at the express order of the party leadership. As Senator Chavez remarked, in the face of this type of evidence the only individual who can prove he is not a Communist is the self-acknowledged ex-Communist.

But Budenz reckoned without the assiduity and good fortune of Lattimore's counsel, who discovered an interesting episode in Budenz's career. In a series on China he had written for *Collier's*, Budenz mentioned Lattimore, but not as a Communist. Before publishing the articles Leonard Paris, *Collier's* editor, called Budenz into his office, and the record of the conference contains the following colloquy:

Q. You are not saying that [Lattimore] acted as [a Communist agent] in any way?
A. No.
Q. That ought to be quite clear.
A. Oh, yes,.

(Hearings before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, April 20, 1950.)

Asked to explain the contradiction, Budenz gave the Tydings committee an answer so involved as to be almost impossible to summarize. Among other things he mentioned his fear of a libel suit, although it is difficult to understand how the record of a private conversation could furnish the basis for one. He also managed to suggest that Paris was somehow involved in an effort to trap him. He referred to the editor's "peculiar questions, which indicated to me that he might have a particular viewpoint"; he noted that the "peculiar questions" required him to "answer them in such a way as will not involve me in those difficulties which I know the Communists would be very delighted to involve me."

In a subsequent committee session Senator Green asked Budenz why, in his original attempt to explain the contradiction in testimony, he had said of his conversation with Paris: "Well, this was a conference. It wasn't under oath." Did the witness, then, make a distinction between answers under oath and those not under oath? Senator Green asked. Budenz retreated from the question by again insisting that he had been afraid of a libel suit and that he had thought Paris's question was "peculiar." The following exchange then took place between Senator Green and Budenz:

Q. You mean under those circumstances, you are willing to put them off by stating something that is not true?
A. Well, I would not say—"not true"—but that doesn't make the matter. . . .
Q. What expression would you prefer, having the same meaning—"false"? How would you put it? Put it in your own words.
A. Well, I would say, Senator, this: That for me to say to Mr. Paris that Mr.

*This article is neither biography nor psychological monograph. Basically it is concerned with the role of the political informer in fostering fear in an age of suspicion. It is in this context that certain features of the case histories of some of the better-known informers are presented. Two of the best-known—Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers—have been omitted, since their stories have been reviewed and examined many times.

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Lattimore was a Communist agent, in the way that Mr. Paris was pressing me, would have been of no advantage to the article, and would have, at the same time, been a matter of attack upon me. (*Ibid.*)

In the course of the later hearings before the McCarran committee, Budenz was confronted with some of Lattimore's anti-Soviet and anti-Communist writings. But the witness had a ready explanation: certain individual members often received special dispensation from the "Polburo" to criticize the party and the Soviet Union as a form of protective political coloration. Communist organs, he added, themselves protect "secret Communists" by openly criticizing or denouncing them. Thus to the theory of guilt by association Budenz adds the theory of guilt by opposition.

Indeed, among all the informers Budenz is the undisputed master of what may be termed the built-in justification or alibi. His most adroit use of it was perhaps his explanation of why he failed in his early anti-Communist writings to name as Communists certain individuals whom he subsequently listed in Congressional hearings. Budenz declared that in 1945 the Communist Party had decided to encourage any secret party member who was publicly named as a Communist to sue for libel. Knowing about this "secret" directive, he was merely being cautious in not naming all those that he knew to be Communists!

Testifying before the McCarran committee on Henry Wallace's mission to China, Joseph Alsop, the well-known columnist, characterized some of Budenz's testimony as "misleading and untruthful . . . inherently incredible," and charged that Budenz was guilty of gross distortion and deception. Yet despite this and other impressive evidence contradicting Budenz's testimony, he continues to appear as a star witness before Congressional committees and in government prosecutions.

AS IN the case of Lattimore, it took Budenz a long time to name John Carter Vincent, a high-ranking foreign-service officer, as a Communist. Testifying before the Tydings committee in 1950, Budenz said that he would prefer not to discuss Vincent. The following year, before the McCarran subcommittee, he identified some two dozen individuals as party members, citing "official reports."

Gropper

Asked whether Vincent was a party member, he replied: "From official reports that I have received, he was." The belated recognition of Vincent as a Communist by "official report" was an even more striking "resurrection" than the similar identification of Lattimore, since Budenz had allegedly known of Vincent's membership since 1944. In view of the fact that Mr. Dulles specifically found that Vincent was not a security risk and that he could *not* find, "on all the evidence," that there was reasonable doubt as to his loyalty, (New York *Times,* March 5, 1953) it is clear that the Secretary did not believe Budenz.

Alsop has characterized the kind of testimony Budenz gave against Lattimore and Vincent as "the highly novel technique of the belated recognition and the hearsay accusation of treason." The hearsay aspect makes it virtually impregnable against a possible charge of perjury. Budenz could not be expected to produce secret "official reports" that John Carter Vincent was a Communist Party member any more than Vincent could be expected to be able to produce documentary evidence supporting his denial. How many people are in possession of documents proving that they are *not* members of the Communist Party?

Budenz's extraordinarily sensitive reaction to the needs of the moment is also apparent in his testimony concerning Harrison Forman, a well-known writer on Chinese affairs. In 1950 Budenz told the Tydings committee that Forman was not, "as far as [he knew], a Communist." Before the McCarran committee a year later he stated unequivocally that he "knew Forman was a Communist from official reports." The next day—"perhaps after a quick glance at the Tydings transcript" as the Alsop article noted—he changed his testimony to say that Forman was only a fellow-traveler.

In 1952 when Budenz testified before the House committee investigating foundations, the technique of the "belated recognition and hearsay accusation" was again evident as he proceeded to name as Communists by "official report" many

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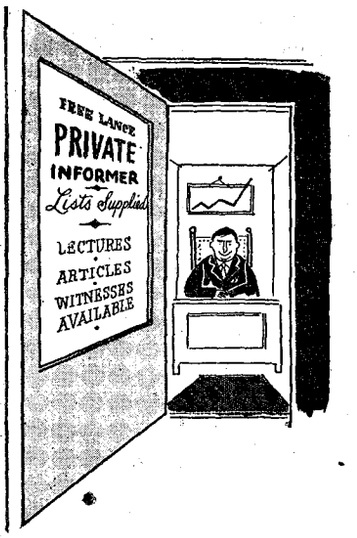
individuals that he had never before so labeled. This time he had an ingenious explanation: he announced that the Cultural Commission of the Communist Party had a body called a "subcommission on foundations," and "the not too specific" reports of the subcomission were the source of his information. A short time later he appeared as a witness in New York in connection with hearings under the Feinberg law and testified that Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, former president of the University of Chicago, was "a victim of Communist influence," which, he implied, explains why the university's list of great books includes Marx's "Capital" and "The Communist Manifesto"! He also said that Senator Borah had been "affected by Communist propaganda" and that Senator Vandenberg "could have been influenced by the Communists through their infiltration."

Paul Crouch

ONE of the most voluble of the informers, Crouch has had an interesting career. He joined the army in April, 1924, intending to "make aviation [his] life occupation" and was almost immediately transferred to Hawaii. Less than a year later he was court-martialed as a result of his activities in the Hawaiian Communist League. According to Honolulu newspaper reports of the court-martial proceedings, his army enlistment was "for the purpose of fomenting revolution, both in the garrison and in the civil population of Hawaii." He was sentenced to forty years, which were later commuted to three. With time off for good behavior, he was released from Alcatraz in June, 1927.

Crouch confessed to a penchant for fabrication in an interview printed in the Honolulu *Star Bulletin* of April 7, 1925. Explaining how he had come to write a letter which was not exactly truthful in content, he told a reporter: "I am in the habit of writing letters to my friends and imaginary persons, sometimes to kings and other foreign persons, in which I place myself in imaginary positions. I do that to develop my imaginative powers. That is why this letter is semi-fiction." Since he has become an informer, one position in which Crouch has placed himself, according to his own testimony, is that



of a Marxist *Wunderkind*: "Between the ages of ten and twelve [while living on a North Carolina farm] I began serious reading of such Marxist literature as Marx's 'Value, Price, and Profit,' and the 'Communist Manifesto,' Bebel's 'Woman and Socialism,' Engel's 'Origins of the Family' and after the age of twelve, approximately, proceeded to more serious works like Fuerback [*sic*], 'Das Capital,' and many other fundamental writings of Marxist economics and philosophy." At the age of fourteen, Crouch now says, he "followed all details of world affairs with very close interest." (Testimony before the Subversive Activities Control Board, July, 1951, and before the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the matter of Halberson, 1950.)

IT WAS in Chicago, in September, 1927, that Crouch got his first Communist Party membership book. In December of that year, six months after his release from Alcatraz, he went to Russia, where he now says he conferred with high officers of the Red Army's general staff, including General Tukhachevsky. According to his testimony, the Red Army generals presented to this twenty-four-year-old ex-private of one year's military experience detailed plans "they had formulated for penetration of the American armed forces." He says also that he was made an honorary colonel of the Red Army, reviewed the Budenny division, and lectured at the Frunze Academy, Russia's West point.

Crouch's credibility was dealt a direct blow recently when a federal jury decided unanimously in favor of the plaintiff and awarded damages of $5,000 in a libel suit brought by Armand E. Scala against the Hearst press. The action grew out of a series of blood-and-thunder stories by Crouch published in the Hearst papers in May, 1949. In one of these Crouch had described Scala, then an officer of Local 500 of the Transport Workers' Union and an employee of Pan-American Airways in Miami, as "the chief courier for the party in Latin America," traveling "to Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro frequently on party business." The jury found for Scala after learning the strange circumstances surrounding the birth of this literary enterprise.

Twelve days before his story of Scala's courier service for the Communists was to appear in the nationally circulated Hearst newspapers, Crouch testified in his Congressional debut before the House Un-American Activities Committee:

Q. Do you know Arman Schaller [*sic*]?
A. Very well, with Local 500.
Q. Is he a member of the Communist Party?
A. I do not know . . . I do not know of my own knowledge what his party affiliations are. (Hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, May 6, 1949.)

Not a word here about Scala's alleged travels on party business. In order to dispel the doubts cast on the articles by this vital omission and in the hope of giving Crouch's charges a privileged libel-proof status, the managing editor of Hearst's Miami *Daily News* introduced into the records of the committee, meeting in executive session on May 11, the series of articles, as yet partially unpublished, and several affidavits by Crouch adding to his previous testimony. In one of these he asserted: "Another member and officer of Local 500 I know to be active in the Communist work in Miami is Armand Scala. Scala has been the chief Communist courier to Latin American countries, making trips without charge on Pan-American Airways as far as Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and Buenos Aires, Argentina."

Even here there is no statement that Scala was a Communist Party member. On May 16, 1949, while his articles were appearing all over the country, Crouch was again in Washington, this time testifying before the Senate Sub-

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committee on Immigration and Naturalization. Now he had "every reason" to know that Scala was a "very active Communist," but his knowledge of Scala's courier service was attributed to unparticularized gossip: "Many references which I have heard around the office indicate beyond any doubt in my mind that he was acting as chief courier to Latin America." It was not in fact until September 20, 1949, that Crouch's memory had jelled sufficiently to enable him to designate Scala unequivocally as a Communist Party member.

The adverse jury verdict has not affected Crouch's standing as a political informer in court proceedings or administrative hearings or before Congressional committees. He is still a consultant for the Immigration and Naturalization Service and a member of Duquesne University's Institute on Communism. Recently he testified in New Orleans before Senator Eastland, who was sitting as a one-man inquisitor for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. While Eastland barred any cross-examination, Crouch was permitted to refer in slanderous terms to Virginia Durr, sister-in-law of Justice Hugo Black and wife of Clifford Durr, a member of the Federal Communications Commission from 1941 to 1948. He had already testified that Mr. Durr was a Communist. Both Mr. and Mrs. Durr flatly denied that they were members of the Communist Party, and Mr. Durr challenged the committee to bring about his or Crouch's indictment. In the same hearing Crouch referred to Joseph Lash of the New York *Post* as one of five individuals who had tried to obtain information from the White House for the Soviet Union from the early 1930's to 1942. Mr. Lash in a statement to the committee wrote: "Paul Crouch lied in his statement about me."

Manning Johnson

A DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE informer, Johnson has testified in about twenty-five court cases and a number of Congressional hearings. In the second trial of Harry Bridges he testified that the West Coast waterfront leader had been present at a Communist convention in New York City on June 27 or 28, 1936. But Bridges presented six witnesses, a number of newspaper reports, and other documentary evidence to prove his presence at a longshoremen's meeting in Stockton, California, at a time which made it physically impossible for him to be in New York on the days mentioned. On the basis of this evidence counsel for Bridges demanded that Johnson be charged with perjury. The trial judge refused immediate action but directed Johnson to hold himself in "readiness for the processes of this court until the conclusion of the trial." To date no action has been taken against him.

In 1951 Johnson testified before the Subversive Activities Control Board. On cross-examination the witness confirmed that he had given evidence in a Pennsylvania sedition trial as follows:

Q. In other words, you will tell a lie under oath in a court of law rather than run counter to your instructions from the F. B. I. Is that right?

A. If the interests of my government are at stake. In the face of enemies at home and abroad, if maintaining secrecy of the techniques of methods of operation of the F. B. I., who have responsibility of the protection of our people, I say I will do it a thousand times.

In the Pennsylvania sedition case he admitted that he had testified falsely in the deportation proceedings against one Nat Yanish in 1948.

Q. That testimony was not correct, was it, Mr. Johnson?

A. No, it wasn't precisely, because I could not at that time reveal the fact that I had supplied information to the F. B. I. . . . I think the security of the government of the United States has priority over . . . any other consideration.

This kind of "patriotic lying" is to be expected perhaps of an American war prisoner or espionage agent caught by enemy inquisitors. But this was an American board representing American law. Does a witness owe less loyalty to

Why He Voted "No"

[*The following statement was prepared especially for* The Nation *by the only Representative who voted no on the 1954 appropriation for the House Un-American Activities Committee.*]

WHEN I first went to Congress in January of 1949 I had had twenty-eight years of bitter experience trying to be of assistance to working people, whom I found to be struggling day in and day out under most adverse conditions. The early part of those years were an era when the right of workers to organize for collective bargaining was challenged by a strong employers' association, determined to crush any effort of their employees to have a voice in their economic condition. The courts did almost nothing to secure justice for the millions of wage-earners; federal and state governments failed to give them protection. That explains, perhaps, why I am so opposed to the acts and widespread hysteria I have witnessed in the past five years as a member of Congress.

In addition, there were the six trying years when I was a member of the Minnesota House of Representatives, from 1932 to 1939—years of depression and drought in Minnesota when man's spirit was put to the test. Eight breadwinners out of every ten were unemployed, in relief lines, losing everything they had ever possessed except their dignity and determination not to see their families and loved ones starve to death or lose the roof over their heads.

Desperation during those trying times prompted millions of good American citizens to rally to any cause that promised to ease their plight. And so today, as I view the witch-hunting and the accusations and the smear campaign carried on by the House Un-American Activities Committee, as well as by Senator McCarthy and his stooges and the Jenner committee, I cannot compromise my convictions or follow the line of least resistance. To me our entire way of life is at stake. I refuse to acquiesce in such demagoguery because I have become convinced that every one of these committee chairmen has succumbed to the lure of newspaper headlines and other publicity that may some day make them a national hero—or President.

While I have had to meet some bitter attacks during the past three Congressional campaigns because of my stand and votes against these sinister forces, I have also found unexpected support back home.—*Roy W. Wier, Representative of the Third Congressional District of Minnesota.*

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the law of the land than to the F. B. I.? And is justice for the individual to be determined by the F. B. I. in the light of its own concept of national security?

George Hewitt

TESTIFYING before the Canwell committee in the state of Washington, the informer George Hewitt charged that Professor Melvin Rader of the University of Washington had attended a Communist school on a farm near Kingston, New York. Rader's answer was to file perjury charges against Hewitt which the local prosecutor in Washington agreed to press. "I am convinced," announced the prosecutor, "Rader was not in New York and could not have attended the . . . sessions . . . testified to by Hewitt."

In October, 1948, the prosecutor asked the New York police to arrest Hewitt and hold him for extradition. In February, 1949, Hewitt voluntarily surrendered to the police, announcing that he would fight extradition. He did not have to fight very hard. In Washington spokesmen for the Canwell committee and other officials stated that representatives of the Department of Justice had sought dismissal of the perjury charge "in the interest of national security." In New York an attorney moved for Hewitt's release, reminding the court that he was an ex-Communist who "because of his special knowledge of the Communist Party . . . has been frequently called upon to testify at legislative hearings, grand-jury investigations, and immigration proceedings." An affidavit signed by Manning Johnson was produced attesting to the same "facts" about Rader which the Washington authorities had found to be false. The staff of the Bronx District Attorney, Samuel J. Foley, opposed the extradition, acting as agent for the Justice Department. Hewitt was released from custody.

It was in connection with this case that Edwin O. Guthman of the Seattle *Times* won the Pulitzer prize for the best national reporting of 1949. Guthman turned up the documentary evidence which proved conclusively that Dr. Rader could not have attended the Kingston school in New York. Later Smith Troy, Washington's attorney general, released a report of his investigation of the Rader case in which he disclosed that the staff of the Canwell committee possessed conclusive proof of the truth of Rader's denials at the very moment the committee was seeking to prove him a liar. The Attorney General had discovered that an investigator for the Canwell committee had signed a receipt for certain pages of the guest book of a lodge in Washington which proved that Dr. Rader and his wife had spent the summer of his supposed Communist indoctrination three thousand miles from New York. "In the Seattle office [of the Canwell committee]," Mr. Troy dryly commented, "the trail of the documents became very confused." The investigator who signed the receipt turned the documents over to the assistant chief investigator, who turned them over to the chief investigator, who could not remember ever having seen them.

Albert Canwell, former committee chairman, at first stated that he knew nothing about the missing sheets; when the Attorney General undertook to investigate the committee files, Canwell suddenly "found" all but the most important of them—the pages covering the Raders' arrival at the lodge. Yet one of those he did turn over carried a notation confirming the Raders' visit. This was the evidence that the Raders had been bending every effort to turn up to confirm their testimony (see *The Nation* of July 22, 1950).

THE INFORMER AND THE COURTS

THE political climate that has created the demand for informers tends to protect them in many ways. Despite the fact, for example, that the Supreme Court has said that a defendant is entitled to conduct a searching cross-examination of informers and police spies, this privilege has been very sharply limited in many recent proceedings. The courts have also been reluctant to make available to the defense for purposes of cross-examination the reports which political informers have submitted to the F. B. I. and other agencies. Here the argument is made that inspection of the reports would somehow endanger "national security."

A major difficulty for the person accused by a political informer is that he must prove a negative. It may well cost time and money beyond your means to prove, for example, that you were working in Chicago at a time when an informer places you at a "closed meeting" in San Francisco. Even if you should succeed in collecting evidence to substantiate your testimony, there is nothing to prevent the informer from changing his testimony so as to fix the meeting at another date or place. In many cases the vagueness of the informer's testimony makes it very difficult to disprove. Often his testimony may be based on "official reports" or on the nature of certain activities or associations rather than on his personal knowledge of specific facts. This is frequently the case at Congressional hearings, where informers are not subject to cross-examination, though these hearings have taken on many of the aspects of a "trial" and some of the consequences.

On occasion, the informer is permitted to offer his own conclusions and opinions as an expert. Paul Crouch was permitted to testify in one case that during a certain period the "Polburo" had withdrawn the requirement that members of the Communist Party must sign membership cards and had further decreed that payment of dues was not an indispensable condition to the maintenance of membership. In a case in which the government was required to disprove the defendant's contention that he had resigned from the party an informer was permitted to testify that one could leave the Communist Party only through expulsion. One may well marvel at the ingenuity of an arrangement which made it so easy, in the one case, to prove membership and so hard, in the other, to prove non-membership.

The difficulty of rebutting testimony given by an informer is enhanced by the wide scope of proof permitted in conspiracy cases. In some of the Smith Act prosecutions, for example, informers have been brought from great distances

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to testify about events which took place miles from the place of the trial and at which the defendants were not present. Current interpretations of the Smith Act make the issue turn in large part on the defendant's relation to an organization, and the character of the organization is then determined by proof ranging over a long period of years. This is of course a danger in conspiracy prosecutions generally, and where, as in the case of a political organization, the number of "conspirators" runs into the thousands, the danger is much greater. A special hazard arises, too, when political informers turn up among the defendant's own defense team. In the pending St. Louis prosecution, for example, the prosecution produced as a surprise witness an informer who only a few days earlier had met with the defense attorneys and helped in preparing the cross-examination of another informer (St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* March 18, 1954).

In some instances the press has been of immense assistance in disproving an informer's accusation. The Chicago *Sun-Times* is actively supporting the fight against the deportation of its cartoonist Jacob Burck, whom Paul Crouch named as a former party member at a deportation hearing in February, 1953. Asked at the hearing to identify Burck, Crouch pointed out the wrong man. Attempts have therefore been made to intimidate the press through the use of informers' testimony. Harvey Matusow, employed for a time as an investigator by the Ohio Un-American Activities Committee, charged in a political speech in Montana in 1952 that 126 dues-paying Communists were on the Sunday staff of the New York *Times*—whose entire Sunday staff numbers 93. Matusow went on to say that "on the editorial and research staffs of *Time* and *Life* there are 76 hard-core Reds and in the New York bureau of the Associated Press there are 25 Communists." McCarthy later announced that he intended to retain Matusow to investigate Communist infiltration into press, radio, and television in New York.

INFORMING AS A BUSINESS*

THE political informer is generally pictured as a self-sacrificing individual who at great personal risk gives his all for his country and gets nothing in return except acclaim. The truth is quite different. Political informing has become a well-paying occupation, at least for the better-known practitioners. The political informer is of course paid for his work as an undercover agent or ex-Communist turned witness, and in addition may find it the beginning of a successful career. He may be able to get a full-time or part-time job as consultant or analyst for a federal or state government body or some private corporation or institution. Even the world of mass-communication media has been eager to utilize his services. Most of the major political informers have published confessions or autobiographies. Among informer-authors are Philbrick, Budenz with three books, Gitlow, Calomiris, and of course Bentley and Chambers. Authorship often leads to important lectures, radio, television, and even motion-picture opportunities. Cvetic received $12,500 for the movie rights to his material and an additional $6,500 for a magazine series based on his career as an informer. He earns between $10,000 and $15,000 annually from his anti-Communist activities.

Budenz undoubtedly tops his colleagues both in earnings and in the variety of his activities. He has testified about twenty-five times before six different Congressional committees. He has appeared as a witness in seven court actions, four administrative proceedings, and a number of deportation cases. Since he left the Communist Party in 1945 he has earned, in addition to witness fees, over $60,000—approximately $20,000 for magazine articles, $17,000 from royalties on books, and $24,000 for lectures. For most of these years he has also been receiving a professor's salary from Fordham University.

Even without literary and other sidelines the political informer can earn fairly substantial sums as an undercover agent, a witness, or a consultant, as indicated by the following examples selected at random. Mary Markward, the informer in the recent Annie Lee Moss case, was employed by both the F. B. I. and the Communist Party. Her income from the party is unknown, but the F. B. I. paid her more than $24,000 between 1943 and 1952.

Lloyd Hamlin earned $13,182 between 1946 and 1952; Bernice Baldwin earned more than $16,000 from 1943 to 1952; Daisy Van Dorn received more than $4,000 from the F. B. I. between 1945 and 1951—for two years she was given $125 a month simply to keep herself in readiness as a witness. These sums do not include expenses or witness fees, which are often substantial. For example, between early 1951 and April, 1953, the ex-Communist John Lautner earned witness and consultant fees of approximately $8,000 (excluding transportation and per diem expenses). It is perhaps not surprising therefore that the informer group has now become so large that a Federation of Former Communists has been organized by Paul Crouch to protect their interests.

*The material in this section is largely drawn from stipulations filed by the Department of Justice in the California and New York second-round Smith Act trials and from admissions of witnesses at the 1950 hearings on communism among New York City school teachers.

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HOW THE CLERGY CASE WAS FABRICATED

INFORMERS have been used not only to discredit newspaper, radio, and television critics of the Congressional probes but to protect the probers from other types of criticism. It will be recalled that the proposal of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate the American clergy drew instant fire. In July of last year President Eisenhower, after vigorous objections had been lodged by the representatives of three leading religious faiths, spoke out against indiscriminate attacks on the clergy. Shortly afterward Senator McCarthy was forced by the pressure of public opinion to drop J. B. Matthews as chief investigator for his committee. Matthews had written an article in which he had stated that Protestant clergymen were the greatest single source of support for the "Communist apparatus," implying that "at least 7,000" such clergymen had served "the Kremlin's conspiracy." The President's statement, the resignation of Matthews, and Bishop Oxnam's exposure of the file on him in the hands of the House Committee on Un-American Activities succeeded in placing the inquisitorial committees on the defensive. It is interesting to see how they tried, through the use of informers, *to get off the hook.*

The first move was to call on Mr. Philbrick. In New York, Philbrick told the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in executive session, that he had no "legal evidence" that there were any Communist Party members among the clergy but that he had been told of two clergymen who were members. Neither of these men had been named as Communists in Philbrick's book "I Led Three Lives," and only one of them had been named by him in an earlier appearance before the same committee in 1951. Pressed for names, the informer said that he had heard of seven or eight ministers who were reds but that the furtiveness of their operations had prevented their detection. Desperate for headlines, the committee made public his evidence. Philbrick was furious and charged that the committee's release of his testimony had been premature and "a bad mistake." He explained that his evidence had been "in the nature of leads and tips to be followed for further facts" and that he had not expected the committee to release testimony, including names, that he had given in executive session. "The committee has played *right into* the hands of the Communists," he added.

The investigating committee then turned to the veteran ex-Communist *Kornfeder*, who testified, but not "from first hand," that twenty-five or thirty years ago the Reverend Harry F. Ward had met in Moscow with important leaders of the Soviet Union. "I am fairly certain in my mind," he said, that Dr. Ward "saw . . . Joe Stalin." (Dr. Ward, it might be noted, denies having met Stalin.) Kornfeder gave it as his personal opinion also that there were about 600 secret party members among the clergy, an estimate based on "knowledge I have in this field." When Representative Scherer expressed surprise at the smallness of the number, the witness conceded that it "might be an underestimation."

The third informer, Gitlow, entered a sweeping condemnation of the social-gospel movement. Without offering any substantiating evidence he charged that among the ministers who "carried out the instructions of the Communist Party or collaborated with it" were John Haynes Holmes, Irwin St. John Tucker, and the late Rabbis Judah L. Magnes and Stephen S. Wise.

Manning Johnson spent three days on the stand. He broadened the canvas to include espionage and sabotage, to which he linked the clergy by association. Equipped with photostats of various public pronouncements by the clergy, Johnson developed an elaborate chain of organization relationships from which it would appear that almost every manifestation of liberal Christianity in the last several decades stemmed from the Communist movement. He declared that the United Christian Council for Democracy, whose executive committee was headed by one of the country's most astute anti-Communists, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, followed a policy "based upon the program of the Communist Party for the infiltration of the various Protestant denominations on the basis of conditioning them mentally and organizationally for the overthrow of the government of the United States."

Another witness was Leonard Patter-

Statement of Eminent Clergymen

[*Extracts from a letter dated February 16, 1954, to Senator William Langer, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, from seventeen prominent Protestant and Jewish clergymen.*]

WE would make a distinction between informers and investigators employed by government agencies. The investigator obtains information for the agency he serves but does not function as a public accuser. If the investigator uncovers evidence of criminal activity against a citizen, the citizen may be indicted and tried by due process of law. The informer is a public accuser. When functioning under government protection or privilege the informer accuses with immunity. . . . Yet we have strong reason to believe that some informers who have traduced large numbers of citizens have not spoken the truth. . . . The testimony of ministers of the Christian church and others as to the untruthfulness of various of these professional witnesses should be the subject matter of investigation by the Subcommittee on Civil Rights. . . .

We submit that any investigatory process whereby citizens are subjected to attacks against which they have no opportunity for rebuttal . . . is an un-American practice. Such a procedure, moreover, lays too heavy a burden upon the aggrieved citizen, who in order to clear his name must oppose the government who sponsors the informer. . . .

It is also our considered judgment that the character of some of the people whose testimony is being used in political trials and before Congressional committees would be a fruitful subject for investigation. . . .

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son, who identified the Reverend Jack McMichael as having been a member of the "New York District" of the Young Communist League in 1934 and 1935, although in fact McMichael was enrolled at that time as a freshman at Emory University in Georgia. During the 1950 hearings on communism among New York school teachers, trial examiner Kiendel rejected the testimony of this same Patterson as unworthy of belief.

In the wake of these hearings, which signally failed to bolster up the committee's theories about the clergy and the necessity for an investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, in response to a letter, informed Senator Harry F. Byrd that he knew of no minister who had been proved to be a Communist agent. Mr. Hoover had supplied "convincing evidence," said the Senator in a public statement, that the charges against the clergy were "baseless."

WHERE THERE'S FEAR THERE'S NO FREEDOM

DOUBTLESS there is a place for certain types of informers in our society—for example, in the enforcement of legislation against various forms of vice. But it should not be forgotten that the use of informers dates from a time when society lacked organized police forces trained in the detection of crime. Useful as they may still be in the enforcement of sumptuary legislation, informers, as Donnelly has pointed out, "have been generally regarded with aversion and nauseous disdain." It is only the political informer who becomes, in a time of panic, the social hero. Historically he is the creature of political suppression. "Sedition legislation," writes Donnelly, "inevitably breeds spies. 'Espionage goes with an Espionage Act.' If political agitation is made criminal, spies are indispensable. In no other way can the offense be detected. The spy frequently becomes an agent provocateur who instigates the activities he reports. This dirty business is the price a government must pay for the suppression of political dissent" (*op. cit.* p. 1073). Sooner or later we too shall be driven to share the conclusion of Sir Erskine May that the best protection against internal enemies lies in open discussion free of the surveillance of spies and informers.

Next in importance to personal freedom [May wrote] is immunity from suspicions and jealous observation. Men may be without restraints upon their liberty; they may pass to and fro at pleasure; but if their steps are tracked by spies and informers, their words noted down for crimination, their associates watched as conspirators—who shall say that they are free? Nothing is more revolting to Englishmen than the espionage which forms part of the administrative system of Continental despotisms. It haunts men like an evil genius, chills their gaiety, restrains their wit, casts a shadow over their friendships, and blights their domestic hearth. The freedom of a country may be measured by its immunity from this baleful agency. Rulers who distrust their own people must govern in a spirit of absolutism; and suspected subjects will be ever sensible of their bondage.

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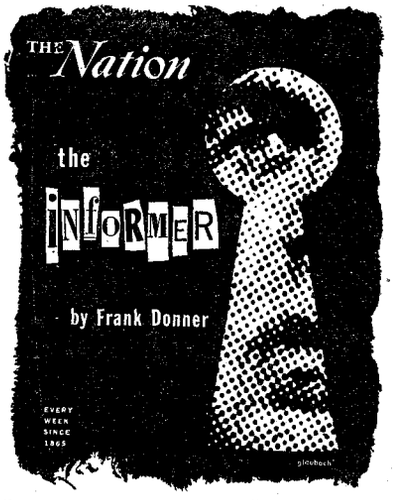

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BOOKS

The Stranger Within the Gates

CIVIL RIGHTS IN IMMIGRATION. By Milton R. Konvitz. Cornell University Press. $3.50.

THE GOLDEN DOOR: THE IRONY OF OUR IMMIGRATION POLICY. By J. Campbell Bruce. Random House. $3.75.

By David Fellman

FROM Biblical days to the present, one of the main tests of civilized behavior is how a nation treats the stranger within its gates. Since we are a "nation of nations," and the leading champion of the values of freedom and democracy in the world, our immigration policies should be viewed with an especially critical eye. They should not be based on prejudice and they should be free from the taint of arbitrary, unfair procedures.

The immigration policy of the United States was overhauled with the passage, over President Truman's veto, of the Immigration and Nationality (McCarran-Walter) Act of 1952. The act was vigorously debated in Congress before it was passed and has been the subject of heated controversy since. A Presidential commission, headed by Philip B. Perlman, held public hearings in various parts of the country and on January 1, 1953, issued a report under the title "Whom We Shall Welcome" which recommended drastic changes in both the substantive and procedural aspects of the statute. Among the many who agree that the statute ought to be rewritten are Professor Konvitz of Cornell University and Mr. J. C. Bruce, a California newspaperman.

Professor Konvitz's book, the latest of a series of Cornell Studies in Civil Liberty, is a careful work of scholarship. Mr. Bruce writes for a more popular audience, in a direct and dramatic style. He leans heavily on the hearings before the Perlman commission and its report. He illustrates his points with concrete cases of actual experience. Professor Konvitz analyzes a vast amount of statutory and decisional law as well as governmental reports and other literature dealing with immigration problems. Both writers have studied carefully the extraordinary complexities of the McCarran Act. Both consider admission and exclusion policies, deportation, and the acquisition of citizenship. Both are extremely critical of the statute and spell out the changes they think necessary.

Mr. Bruce believes that the present statute was "written in fear" and "rooted in racial discrimination." He is also sharply critical of the way the Immigration Service has administered the laws confided to its care. He states that "countless instances of almost incredible cruelty and injustice stain the history of our Immigration Service" and describes a number of them. But he thinks they are due partly to the intent of the statute, which added more than a hundred new restrictive features to the antecedent law, partly to the fact that administrative officials are given vast discretionary and unreviewable powers, and partly to the pressure of political extremists. "Into this 302-page omnibus bill," he writes, "Congress packed all the hypocrisy, the malevolence, the arrogance, the racial resentments of earlier laws and earlier moods." If this is so, perhaps Mr. Bruce is too hard on the administrative officials, for after all it is their duty to enforce the law as Congress made it, whatever their private views may be. Furthermore, immigration officials must find it difficult to avoid developing a suspicious and irritable state of mind, considering how many people try to enter the United States fraudulently. This does not excuse bad manners, but it may explain them.

The prime target of both books is the national-origins quota system which the McCarran Act perpetuates. It is criticized as offensive from the standpoint of basic human rights, as un-American in its effort to mold this country to fit the concept of nationality, and as insulting to large segments of the American population. "Equality without uniformity," or cultural pluralism, has been a basic tradition of the nation. The authors point out that Presidents Truman and Eisenhower and many important people in all walks of life have condemned the national-origins quota system.

Professor Konvitz makes it abundantly clear that so far as constitutional law is concerned the power of Congress to exclude aliens is plenary, unlimited by the Bill of Rights or any other provision of the Constitution. Decisions of the Supreme Court all point in one direction —that the only defense against our exclusionary legislation is political, not judicial. In the case of deportation, however, the resident alien is constitutionally entitled to due process, which includes notice, a fair hearing, and an order supported by some evidence. He is by no means without legal rights.

KONVITZ AND Bruce agree that the procedures sanctioned by the McCarran Act are very bad, and they both argue that the Administrative Procedure Act should apply to immigration legislation. This would separate the prosecuting from the adjudicative function in the Immigration Service and provide for direct judicial review. Today the only judicial relief is by way of habeas corpus proceedings. While the scope of judicial action in habeas corpus cases is much more ample than Mr. Bruce suggests, still it is true that no one can apply for a writ of habeas corpus until he has been arrested and jailed. There ought to be some way of securing judicial review of administrative decisions without exacting such a harsh means test. These two books emphasize the injustices resulting from exclusion by unreviewable administrative fiat, without a hearing of any sort. Konvitz also advances the interesting suggestion that American citizens or groups of citizens who sponsor the admission of particular aliens ought to be given standing to participate in immigration proceedings. This proposal has merit, since alien immigrants are especially helpless when they get involved in the toils of officialdom.

Both authors conclude that the provisions of the McCarran Act which discriminate against Asiatics and persons born in the colonial areas of the Western Hemisphere ought to be repealed. They believe that those provisions which are concerned with barring subversives

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should be redrafted to prevent the drawing of unfavorable inferences from innocent associations. Both strongly criticize our denaturalization laws for reducing our naturalized citizens to a second-class status by making them liable to disabilities not applicable to native-born citizens. Mr. Bruce has written a devastating analysis of our visa policy, and points out how much ill-will it has earned for us all over the world.

Whatever views one may have on the subject of immigration policy, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, after reading these two books, that the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 is a very badly drafted statute. It contains many clauses which are more or less meaningless or unbelievably complex; it vests arbitrary powers in the hands of people who should not have them; and it has many contradictory provisions. From a narrow, bill-drafting point of view alone, a job of revision remains to be done. But from the broader standpoint of good international relations, a humane democracy, and elemental fair play, Congress has a bigger and more urgent task on its hands.

New Books in Brief

Read His Novel!

THE QUEST OF ALAIN-FOURNIER. By Robert Gibson. Yale. $4.

There have been a number of notable literary "quests." It was fascinating to hunt and pin down the elusive Baron Corvo; Steegmuller traced with a delicate hand the link between Flaubert and "Madame Bovary"; and "A la Recherche de Marcel Proust" is outstanding among Maurois's innumerable achievements. The present work was written with loving care by a scrupulous and sensitive scholar. Yet one doubts whether it was needed at all. Alain-Fournier's brief career was unsensational. He died at twenty-eight, in September, 1914, killed at the front like his friend Péguy. He left but one novel, "Le Grand Meaulnes" ("The Wanderer"). The fragments collected after his death are not of commanding value. He belonged to no school. Gérard de Nerval, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Maeterlinck, ("Pelléas et Mélisande"), Joseph Bédier ("Tristan") colored but did not create his talent. His Catholicism was influenced by Claudel's and Péguy's but left no definite trace in his one great book.

He survives because he caught marvelously the mysterious hour "between dawn and sunrise," the love of love, in perfect purity, the white luminous dream which for one moment seems the only reality in the world. We shudder at the thought of Alain-Fournier's turning realist, surrealist, existentialist. But all his charm is in his book. Robert Gibson's thoroughness in research and his critical acumen are of a very high order; yet they add absolutely nothing to the understanding or to the enjoyment of "Le Grand Meaulnes." The story remains, like "Aucassin et Nicolette," a unique flower; frail, yet destined to survive not merely the clevernesses of Barrès, the ponderosities of Bourget, but even the subtleties of Gide and the sublimities of Claudel. When massive towers crumble, "The Wanderer" may retain its dewy magic. If you are interested in Alain-Fournier, then read "Le Grand Meaulnes." If you are still entranced, read it again. If you were once attuned to Alain-Fournier, no introduction is needed. If you never were, no introduction will serve.

"Superstitious" Valuations

THE COMPLEX FATE. By Marius Bewley. Grove. $5.

This volume of essays takes up Henry James's assertion that it is a "complex fate, being an American, and one of the responsibilities it entails is fighting against a superstitious valuation of Europe." One would expect thereafter a discussion of American and European cultural values. Instead, Marius Bewley gives us a series of essays on Hawthorne's influence on James, working it out more minutely than his predecessors but in essence adding nothing new. This kind of scholarship is essentially reductive, and in dismissing European influences on James in favor of American—and Hawthornesque—Bewley is guilty of a "superstitious valuation" of our own culture. It is rather significant that he refuses to accept the influence of Turgenev, Zola, Maupassant and Flaubert, which was perhaps relative, but overlooks the most important influence of all, Balzac, which James himself announced repeatedly, to the point of lecturing on "The Lesson of Balzac" during his 1905 tour of his homeland.

The other essays in the book deal with Mencken and the American language, the differences between post-war American and British poetry, which he cogently discusses, and Kenneth Burke as a literary critic. There is a great deal of surplus wordage and the over-elaborate kind of critical definition that is the curse of our "little magazines." These essays, as a matter of fact, were written for the English little mag *Scrutiny*, published at Cambridge. Their verbosity tends to smother some good critical insights and make of the total a rather inharmonious blur.

Point 4 Problems

SHIRT-SLEEVE DIPLOMACY: POINT 4 IN ACTION. By Jonathan B. Bingham. John Day. $4.

A popular but authoritative exposition of the inception, accomplishments, and continuing problems of Mr. Truman's "bold new program." Its author, former deputy administrator of the Technical Cooperation Administration, is an enthusiast but not a starry-eyed one. He has some striking stories to tell about improvements in health conditions and in agricultural production brought about with the aid of T. C. A. experts. Nevertheless, he warns of the danger of estimating Point 4 potentialities on the basis of isolated successes. Because a limited pilot experiment with steel plows and selected seed doubles grain yields in one Indian district, it does not follow that the way is clear to doubling India's food supply.

Mr. Bingham writes judiciously on the need for supplementing "show-how" with financial aid, on the difficulties of promoting private investment in those countries where external capital is most urgently required, and on the desirability of channeling a larger proportion of our technical-aid funds through the U. N. He also emphasizes the folly of attempting to impose "the American way of life" on people who, although technically backward, have a highly

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developed culture. "If the Point 4 program," he says, "tends to give these people a means of realizing to a greater degree the goals they themselves recognize, it will be a success. If it attempts to substitute new, American-type goals, it will surely fail."

Search for Maturity

RACE ROCK. By Peter Matthiessen. Harper. $3.50.

It is hard to believe the author of this novel is unaware that the difficulties in which his characters are involved are due to the unacknowledged homosexuality of the three men most concerned with Eve Murray. Eve, the only adult, has been married to Sam, who played at being a husband as he played at being a painter. George, Sam's close friend, her adolescent sweetheart and now her lover, cannot face the responsibility of her pregnancy. George, indeed, cannot face any responsibility connected with Eve at all. The third, Cady, formed the pattern of her desire because she saw in his brutality the strength that she demanded in a man.

Using a flashback technique occasionally awkward and ineffective—whereas his conventional narration holds the reader's interest—Mr. Matthiessen examines the relations among the four during violent days and hours. An episode which took place years before, in which Cady had forced George and Sam into abject submission—Sam physically and George morally—makes it clear that none of the four can gain maturity until Cady's sadistic domination is upset.

"Race Rock" is a strong novel which suffers from technical defects. It might have been stronger as a long short story.

"Splendors" of Louis XIV

THE SPLENDID CENTURY. By W. H. Lewis. Sloane. $5.

It is hard to understand why anyone should regard the reign of Louis XIV as "splendid." Indeed, Mr. Lewis admits in his final sentence that the only real splendor was provided by the galaxy of great writers who adorned the period—Corneille, Racine, Molière, La Fontaine, Bossuet, to mention but a few. However, the world of letters is allotted but one brief chapter of this book, and much more space is given to the court, which, with its constant preoccupation with matters of precedence, seems to have been boring beyond belief.

Mr. Lewis also discusses such topics as town and country life, the church and the army, the horrors of seventeenth-century medicine, the plight of the galley slaves, and female education, this last being a fascinating account of Madame de Maintenon's celebrated school at St. Cyr. Clearly, he has soaked himself in the literature of the period and he presents his material very entertainingly. At times, however, his wit is apparently unconscious, as when he notes that Louis XIV's mother laid "the foundations of his religious belief to such good effect that . . . he at least acquired a lasting fear of the devil strong enough to throw a perpetual shadow over his enjoyment of the illicit pleasures of his more exuberant period." We would suspect the author of having tongue in cheek were it not that his book provides evidence of a devout Catholicism.

Official Thoughts on Russia

THE THREAT OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM. Edited by C. Grove Haines. John Hopkins. $5.

A fat and thought-provoking collection of papers on the various aspects of communism read at a Washington conference sponsored by the School of Advanced International Studies. The roster of writers is about as distinguished as it can be in this country—at least four past or present top officials of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, fourteen former or present State Department officials, and some of the most active writers in this field. The topics range from the motivations of Soviet policy, to the Soviet Union's military capabilities, to the techniques of Communist penetration in Asia. The treatment is at times wise, usually matter-of-fact, occasionally plain silly. But what is especially striking in this compilation of the best in American governmental and academic thought on Russia is the tone. It is as if most of the writers were as concerned with a close look at the Soviet problem as with making statements no one could ever challenge as subversive. A paper by Professor Conway Zirkle suggests that Soviet science cannot function properly because the scientists live in dread of denunciation and punishment by the party bosses. This thought is peculiarly appropriate when applied to this collection. Yet, perhaps paradoxically, the book should also be mandatory reading for anyone interested in United States–Soviet relations. For two score literate men cannot but sow a good crop of ideas—whatever the gaps in their analyses or the external pressures on them. And if one seeks an outline of American official thinking on Russia and communism, no volume could be more authoritative. The fact-gatherers and the policy-planners of the "cold war," from George Kennan down, are all here, telling what they have seen, learned, and thought—well, almost.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

SIX or seven years ago I was invited to spend an evening with a group of young art students who were summering in Vermont not far from where I live. Their appearance was in the best tradition of bohemia—black beards, blue jeans, and all. Their conversation was enthusiastic and properly violent. The recognized masters of our day were no good; they were old-hat, insufferable bores. Critics were blind to the new things, unaware that the future was already becoming the present. I listened with rapt attention, anticipating a memorable enlightenment. When their work of destruction was accomplished, I asked a leading question with the idea of quickening an impending revelation of avant-garde deity. It came, and I am still astonished by it. The patron saint of this group of young zealots was none other than John Singer Sargent.

While this point of view is not exactly at the core of current modernism, it serves at least to mark the passage of time; and it agrees, to some extent, with the new estimate of Sargent offered by Frederick Sweet, of the Art Institute

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of Chicago, in the catalogue to a large retrospective of Sargent, Whistler, and Mary Cassatt which has just opened at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. For my generation, nurtured on the criticism of Roger Fry, Sargent was the enemy to be defeated at all costs, and Cézanne was the arch-hero. That was twenty-five years ago. Cézanne continues to expand. We admire increasingly his early work, with its suggestions for modern expressionism, and his very late work, with its distilled freedom and its disciplined economy of statement. (The Guggenheim Museum has just acquired a portrait from the 1890's, a more powerful variant of the Man with Crossed Arms, itself one of the most impressive works in the great Cézanne retrospective of 1952.)

But what of Sargent? Though he was twenty years younger than the master of Aix and outlived him by the same span of time, we can now see that at his best he was a brilliant and authentic Edwardian, that he adumbrated a certain mode of life, and that he injected an American strain into the elegant art of international society. Some very bad—that is, vacuous—pictures are included in this show, notably the oversize neo-Van Dyck image of the Countess of Latham. Other confections run a brief gamut from the cute prettiness of Mademoiselle Suzanne Poirson to the flimsy chic of Mrs. Hugh Hammersley—which Boldini could convey with so much greater intensity. But the standing portrait of Mrs. Adrian Iselin and the half-length of Joseph Pulitzer rival Eakins on his own terms; while the rich darks of Lady Sassoon carry one deeper into a world of quiet dignity than Boldini ever could. It is in such works that Sargent deserves to be compared to Henry James.

Sargent was surely one of the most outrageous potboilers in the history of art, but it is clear from this exhibition that he was a creative artist at all stages of his development. This is perhaps the major discovery that the show affords. Whistler's wan aestheticism is best sampled in very small doses. At his finest, however, in such examples as the full-length Theodore Duret and the seated Carlyle, he touches greatness. One has the sensation of being levitated from the documentary picture into the realm of timelessness, something that even the best of Sargent never quite achieves.

Ingenuousness is the most endearing attribute of Mary Cassatt. Her chief artistic problem seems to have been how to find her identity within the compass of Degas. One feels she achieved it in the Mother and Child (1890) from the Wichita Art Museum, but it was cruel to include Degas's portrait of her in the first room. It was also unfortunate that no important example of her pre-impressionist painting was available: this was before the Degas problem began to assert itself.

GEORGES MATHIEU, one of the discoveries of the recent survey of European painters at the Guggenheim Museum, showed ten large paintings at the Kootz Gallery through April 3. Three years' work was visible here—expressionist abstracts with contrived titles drawn mainly from French royalty. The largest, Hommage à Philippe III le Hardi, was the most powerful, though it is not so subtle as the example in the Guggenheim Museum. There is the same acceleration of white and red on a flat black ground, the same centripetal tensions of forms as they increase in complexity and physical impasto. But in addition the whites are elided into gray and so suggest great depths of space in which this refined explosion is set off. One tires easily of even ten variations on this same theme, and sometimes there was so little to look at (Blanche d'Artois, Marie de Brabant) that one wondered whether the queen really had any pants on. Tetra, however, in rich browns and oranges, with touches of blue, evoked a different sonority, one I should be glad to see developed in further variants.

It is no fault of Lee Gatch that I saw his retrospective (Grace Borgenicht Gallery) on closing day, and I therefore wish to report on it, though with a certain guarded enthusiasm. His is a minor talent—I believe in minor artists—apparently at its best in 1950, though April Gothic and Lancaster Version (of 1953) and Industrial Night (of 1948) indicate that he has staying power. Mid-century Charles Demuth was the phrase that occurred to me before the Lancaster (Pennsylvania) picture seemed to confirm my sense of the connection between two minor artists who are not afraid of being elegant.

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Films

William Murray

"SALT OF THE EARTH" is a controversial movie, which means that it has something on its mind besides a desire to put us all to sleep. Against the harshly beautiful background of the New Mexican landscape Director Herbert J. Biberman focuses his camera on the gaunt faces of striking zinc miners and their worried families. The story has a triple theme—the struggle of the Mexican Americans for equality with "Anglo" workers, the struggle for better working conditions for all miners, and the intramural struggle of the Latin wives for equal rights in the home. With the exception of a handful of professional actors, "Salt of the Earth" relies entirely on a cast of local union members and their relatives, a technique the Italians made popular. Here it gives the movie a tremendous impact. The people look almost too much like people instead of complacent mannequins. Their worries, their problems, their hopes are stamped into their features, not painted there by make-up men.

The script by Michael Wilson does not live up to the terrifying authenticity of the characters. More than a few clichés from the thirties come blundering through the fabric of Mr. Wilson's terse dialogue. In one scene the women and children are standing, silent and grave, on a knoll above the mine shaft where their men are defying the bosses and threatening to go out on strike. Over the heads of the watchers a sign is raised which reads: "We Want Sanitation, Not Discrimination." The effect at that moment is ludicrous.

"Salt of the Earth" is a pro-union film and does not pretend to objectivity. It was made by a group of blacklisted Hollywood exiles in conjunction with the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. A number of people, including one of our Fearless Fosdicks in Congress, tried to prevent the film from being shown. They managed to deport the Mexican film star Rosaura Revueltas, to incite vigilante attacks on the crew, and to launch a conspiracy that delayed completion by about six months. Is pro-union propaganda so dangerous to the American way of life? Why deny that we underpay our workers if they do not fight for their rights, that we discriminate against minorities, that cops too often beat up civilians when Biberman's revealing camera is on hand to prove it?

IF IT isn't politics, it's sex. It just seems that a censor's day is never done. "La Ronde," a French film that aroused much frenzied opposition a while ago, has finally opened in New York. Based on a comedy by Arthur Schnitzler, the story lends itself to the French weakness for over-clever fantasy. The idea is that sex is a merry-go-round: A falls for B, B for C, C for D, and so on back to A again. The conventional French devil in a moth-eaten tuxedo is back to link the episodes together and keep the carrousel spinning, not always briskly enough. Only two or three of the items sparkled with the kind of wit and sophistication the French are supposed to be famous for. Not all the censors were disarmed, I regret to say. Several episodes were so mutilated by somebody's shears that it was impossible to tell whether otherwise they would have succeeded or not. As usual in French films the photography was dark and the camera almost always immobile.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THIS is prize time in the theater. Beyond the festive feeling that the awarding of prizes inspires, the practice is probably a good thing because it stimulates theatergoing and gives the neglected art further publicity. Yet I have never been altogether able to quell an aversion to the idea of naming the seasonal "bests" in the theater. I have voted—in the Drama Critics' Circle—on several occasions and I probably shall do so again, but I must confess something of an inner struggle whenever the moment comes to list or vote for *the* outstanding plays or performances at any given time.

I consider the tradition of prize-giving not the crown of criticism but its denial. The function of criticism, I have always felt, is not so much to praise or to blame as to explain. It is a bad novelist who is primarily concerned with judging his characters: his first job is to create them. The theater critic's main task similarly is not to pronounce estimates of excellence but to convey the nature of his experience with a play. When a play is anything more than routine pastime, the act of criticism may be as subtle and contradictory a task as describing one's feeling for a person with whom one is intimately acquainted. In publicity we express only "love." In criticism love and hate may coexist for the same work at the same time. One does not say of a person one is close to, "He's a pretty good fellow, but not as good as X"; one tries to communicate a sense of the person's being.

Standards of criticism are perhaps more telling than the conclusions one arrives at about particular plays. It will be entirely reasonable for the drama critics this season to choose among such plays as "Tea and Sympathy," "The Teahouse of the August Moon," and "The Caine Mutiny Court Martial," but would not the critic who said he preferred "The World of Sholom Aleichem" to any of these more formal presentations seem a bit odd, not to say downright ornery?

I have aesthetic, moral, and craft quarrels with such a play as "End as a Man," but I found my evening with it more rewarding than my attendance at "Sabrina Fair," with which I have no quarrel at all. I enjoyed disliking parts of "In the Summer House" more than I enjoyed liking all of "The Remarkable Mr. Pennypacker." The dulness of "The Confidential Clerk" interests me more than the fascination of many of the so-called "best" plays. I do not hold "The Girl on the Via Flaminia" to be a truly good play or its acting of a high order, but it touched me more—as did such faulty specimens as "The Trip to

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Bountiful" and "Take a Giant Step"—than whatever play is to be accorded the Pulitzer Prize this year. It appears, in short, that I do not like the "best."

Of course, I get a great "kick" out of seeing Audrey Hepburn in "Ondine." But as a critic it is my job not to register this so much as to discover where the kick struck—and how much it was worth to me. Some of the acting of the Kabuki Theater—to which I was not invited since it was held to belong in the dance category rather than to the theater—absorbed my faculties more than anything in the field of the "legitimate" drama.

Thinking in terms of "bests" or prizes and the summary judgments they imply is a habit which in the end may blunt perception and kill pleasure. It results in part from thinking of plays mechanically and commercially as hits or flops. In the literary field it would never occur to any serious reader to ask the critic, "Do you prefer Charles Morgan's 'The Fountain' to Faulkner's 'Light in August,'" just because they both happened to have been published in the same year. In the theater we feel obliged to name a "best" from among the most disparate examples of stage work and—with rare exceptions—from among the hits only.

The relation of a spectator to a play should be—and if he were so to speak left alone, would be—much more complex than is indicated by the usual tokens of approval or disapproval. Just as I remember detesting Isadora Duncan the night I saw her dance and becoming more and more impressed with her as I reflected on the causes of my discomfiture at the moment of performance, so that now I look back to the occasion as one of the great events of my artistic experience, I also remember disliking and being irritated with a play called "Processional" on its opening night (1925) only to return to it a few weeks later to discover I thought it one of the most poetically significant plays of its decade.

On second nights in the New York theater—and no doubt, on later nights—one observes the audience chiefly trying to determine whether the play is as good or as bad as the reviewers held it to be—which is a wretched state of mind for any sort of appreciation. So when I am confronted with the query which is the best play of the season—"Tea and Sympathy," "The Teahouse of the August Moon," etc., etc.—I do not feel that I am being asked a question relating to an art but rather that I am being subjected to a stick-up.

Records

B. H. Haggin

A READER interested in high-fidelity reproducing equipment asks: "Dollar for dollar is a custom set superior to a commercial set? What advantages has the one over the other?" There are now commercial sets which offer higher-fidelity reproduction than commercial sets used to offer (and than some still offer); but unquestionably the same amount of money will buy superior reproduction if it is spent on an assemblage of high-fidelity components. And this advantage seems to me to outweigh the one advantage of a commercial set—the convenience of being able to buy a packaged set ready to plug in and use with no more than a turn of the on-off knob. Moreover, even this advantage of the commercial set is less than it was, now that dealers are willing to provide the necessary connecting cables and plugs—with plugs and sockets color-coded to prevent errors in connections—for an assemblage of components.

I haven't heard any of the commercial high-fidelity sets or all the components now available; and all I can offer is a report on a few assemblages of components that provide varying degrees of excellence for varying amounts of money. Higher fidelity to the original sound is attained by extending the range of reproduced vibration-frequencies at both ends—the high end for the overtones that enrich the sound and give it living presence; the low end for the lowest bass-notes. To achieve reproduction of the extended range of high and

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low frequencies without distortion—the high violin-notes without sharpness or stridency, the low bass-notes compact and clearly defined—is expensive; and if one can't afford the price of equipment that reproduces the widest range without distortion one pays less for equipment that reproduces an undistorted narrower range.

What complicates matters is that even some of the expensive wide-range equipment now available produces unpleasantly defective sound; and that one can spend varying amounts even for good wide-range equipment—for example from $552 to $732 for a Brociner Transcendant corner folded-horn speaker-system. My way of simplifying them here is to describe the equipment which produces sound in my living room that I find completely satisfying and that other listeners have found very beautiful.

It begins with a Brook 30-watt 10-C-4 amplifier, which today costs $331.50. In the five years since I bought it nothing has come out that is better; but today you can get as good sound from the Brociner 30-watt UL-1, which with its "front end"—the CA-2 control amplifier and A-100 pre-amplifier-equalizer—costs $228.

My speaker is the RCA LC-1A ($179.95); its enclosure is an infinite-baffle box (with no opening other than the one for the speaker-cone), with an interior space of 10 cubic feet that cost me $75 to have made. I use two Fairchild cartridges for LP and 78 rpm ($37.50 each) with a Brociner transformer ($18) in a Clarkstan arm (the new Fairchild arm at $29.50 would be better), with the Rek-O-Kut T-12-H motor and turntable ($119.95). This Rek-O-Kut assembly is difficult to obtain nowadays; and in any case the T-12 ($84.95) or even the LP-743 ($59.50) is probably adequate. And to these costs would have to be added the cost of a cabinet for the equipment other than the speaker.

Someone who can't spend that much can have fine-sounding reproduction of records with the Brociner 12-watt Mark-12 amplifier ($98.25), one of the new small-chassis type, which manages to provide separate controls for bass turn-overs and treble roll-offs, among other things; the Bozak B-207 woofer-tweeter speaker-system ($76.50) in an infinite-baffle box with an interior space of 6 cubic feet; two G.E. variable reluctance cartridges with diamond styli ($20.37 each) used in a Livingston Universal arm ($18.75); the Rek-O-Kut LP-743 motor and turntable ($59.50). With some loss of brilliance in the sound one could use the Altec-Lansing 600-B speaker ($46.50); with risk of motor-rumble one could use the General Industries DSS ($14.70) or DR ($13.05) motor and turntable. And there would be the additional costs of the speaker enclosure ($50?) and the cabinet for the rest of the equipment.

Good low-cost reproduction is provided by the Lafayette 10-watt LA-54 amplifier ($59.50), another of the new small-chassis type, also with separate controls for bass turn-overs and treble roll-offs; a University Diffusicone 12-inch speaker ($27) in a six-cubic-foot infinite-baffle box, or a Wharfedale 8-CS-AL 8-inch speaker ($21.50) in a three-cubic-foot box; and the two G.E. cartridges with diamond styli in the Livingston arm with the General Industries motor and turntable.

The one place I know of in New York that has the excellent Bozak speaker is Leonard Radio (from which I got most of the prices I have given, many of them subject to a further discount for cash). The infinite-baffle box for the speaker must be rigid, and even braced inside, to prevent vibration; it must be lined with sound-absorbent material like rock wool or fiberglas; and even better results will be achieved by covering the cone with rock wool and then filling the box with criss-crossed strips of two-pounds-per-cubic-foot P. F. fiberglas. A General Industries motor should be selected with care (my service man suggests running it suspended between a couple of cartons, in the store, and touching the plate to see if there is vibration that would be heard as rumble), and mounted with equal care—i.e., with rubber washers where the plate is screwed to the motor board; and the cabinet may have to be braced.

As for radio tuners, I have a Browning RV-31 FM tuner ($97.51); but I have just tried the Harman-Kardon AM-FM tuner, which is not only astonishingly priced at $49.50 but astonishingly good—with several features for convenient operation, and with agreeable sound that I found needed additional bass from my amplifier for greater fullness and solidity.

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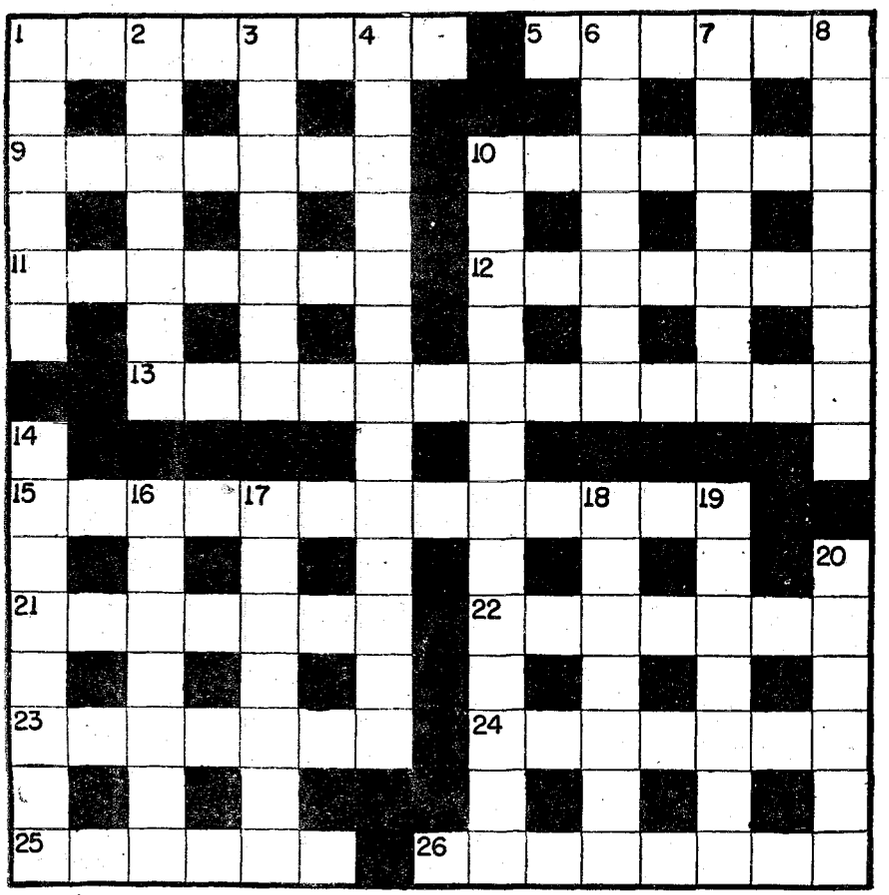
Crossword Puzzle No. 562

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 13. Grey hangers-on of the royal wise man? (6, 2, 3, 6, 4)
5 and 25. Color values shouldn't like Houdini. (6, 6)
9 Does it take this kind of play to make the boss eat? (5–2)
10 The point of operating procedure? (7)
11 This obstacle is created by a current movement. (4, 3)
12 Loudspeakers, compared to a worthless poet. (7)
13 See 1 across.
15 Evidently they find many openings, and their positions might sometime be critical. (5–8)
21 Ejected from the volcano, once around with one, but not well in. (7)
22 The excess supply is obviously too old. (7)
23 Not true love, it's just what some girls deserve! (7)
24 This should be strictly required! (7)
25 See 5 across.
26 It makes a turn-over of sod help a flower. (8)

DOWN

1 Has her make-up changed? Go over it again! (6)
2 Seine? (On the channel, no doubt!) (7)
3 The clue might be rather funny. (7)
4 If one gives a rap, that's supposed to be all, so they shouldn't be ignored. (13)
6 Let's eat at this place, for a change! (7)
7 This might hold things in the measure of a current dance. (7)
8 This man might have spent some time in private practice. (8)
10 Accidentally raises owls, perhaps. (13)
14 Vapors. (8)
16 Is this your understanding of a knock on the door? (7)
17 Associated in turn with both land and water. (7)
18 Does a laundry inspector? Nonsense! (7)
19 Biased. (7)
20 Pertaining to a fee, rather than a contention. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 561

ACROSS:—1 TAP-DANCER; 9 SCOURER; 10 TOPSIDE; 12 PLIERS; 13, 6, and 30 BEAT TO THE PUNCH; 15 DISLODGE; 16 PRESTO; 18 ARCTIC; 20 PENANCES; 23 HURT; 25 RAT; 28 RAVIOLI; 29 MODICUM; 31 ENDANGERS.

DOWN:—1 TASSO; 2 PEOPLES; 3 ACROPHOBIA; 4 and 5 CARRIAGE RETURN; 6 and 11 TOPSOIL; 7 TRIVETS; 8 ELECTIONS; 14 ARMAGEDDON; 15 DEATH-TRAP; 17 BECALMED; 19 CARAVAN; 21 CORACLE; 22 SQUIRE; 26 and 24 TIMES SQUARE; 27 MOTH.

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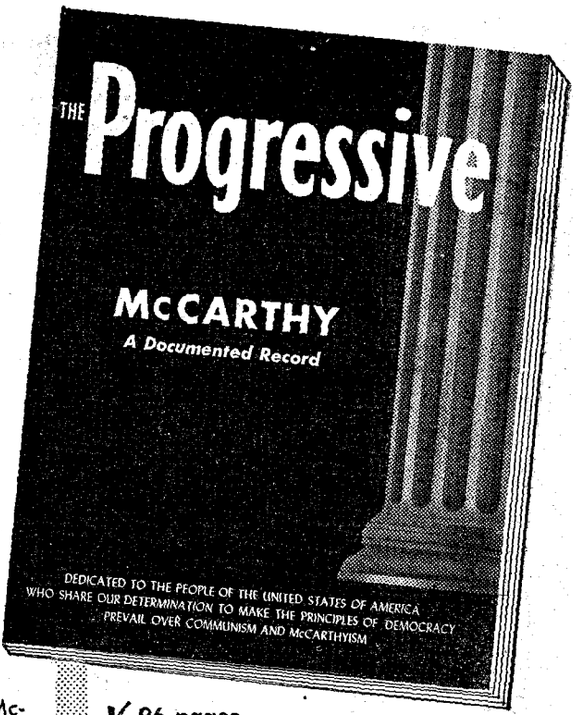
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